

FBIS

DAILY REPORT

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CEMA MEETING ON NUCLEAR POWER BEGINS IN BERLIN

LD242340 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Jun 86

[Excerpt] A meeting of the inter-governmental commission for coordination of cooperation of the CEMA states and Yugoslavia in production and supply of equipment for nuclear power stations has commenced in Berlin.

Stoph Meets Delegation Heads

AU301236 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jun 86 p 6

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Tuesday [24 June] Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, received the delegation heads of the multilateral CEMA government commission for nuclear power plant equipment who are staying in Berlin on the occasion of their 14th meeting.

Willi Stoph discussed fundamental tasks for continuing the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy in the GDR that was adopted by the 11th SED Congress. The ever more efficient linking of the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and the achievement of top performances in science, technology, and production are decisive prerequisites for guaranteeing further dynamic economic growth. In the talk he referred to the great efforts to develop and use key technologies in the national economy and to the close cooperation between combines and research institutions of the GDR and the partner institutions in the USSR and the other countries of CEMA in this field. He stated that the most economical, most efficient use of all energy resources, raw materials, and fuels, as well as the constant improvement of the basic and advanced education of those working in research, development, and production are essential factors for further increase in performance.

Willi Stoph stressed that, in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, the GDR is guided by the highest safety demands in line with the advanced international standard. He expressed full agreement with the proposals of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, for increased international cooperation, in particular regarding an increase in technical safety.

The chairman of the commission, Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, reported on the commission's work to meet the demand for equipment and facilities on the basis of international specialization of production and cooperation (in production), and through cooperation in research. The participants at the meeting unanimously expressed the need for close international cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. They supported the initiatives taken by the IAEA board of governors.

The meeting, that took place in a friendly atmosphere and was marked by the spirit of fraternal cooperation, was attended by Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and permanent representative of the GDR to CEMA, as well as by the members of the multilateral government commission A. Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; L. Kapolyi, minister of industry of the Hungarian People's Republic; W. Mitzinger, GDR minister of coal and energy; Z. Szalajda, deputy chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; K. Dumitru, deputy minister of heavy equipment industry of the SR of Romania; A.M. Petrosyants, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy; L. Gerle, deputy premier of the CSSR; and R. Pavlovic, chairman of the Committee for Economic Development in the SR of Croatia.

50TH CEMA NUCLEAR ENERGY SESSION OPENS IN POLAND

LD241503 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 24 Jun 86

[Text] Warsaw, June 24: Representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Cuba, the GDR, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Vietnam and the Soviet Union are taking part in the 50th session of the CMEA's permanent commission for peaceful use of nuclear energy which opened in the northern city of Torun today. Also participating are representatives of the CMEA's Secretariat and two international economic conglomerates the "Interatomenergo" and the "Interatominstrument".

The session will discuss the details of the programme of cooperation within the CMEA in stepping up the development of nuclear power industry, utilization of radiation techniques in the different areas of economy as well as expansion of cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency .

Opening the session, chairman of Poland's state atomistics agency Mieczyslaw Sowinski said that questions discussed by the commission were at present in the focus of attention of the world public opinion as peaceful use of nuclear energy was an indispensable condition of the development of civilization.

"The present session will examine the current issues, above all those connected with priority directions of a complex programme of scientific and technological progress of the CMEA countries up to the year 2000," he said.

Draft Plan Approved

LD272104 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Excerpts] Warsaw, June 27 -- The commission reviewed, among other things, the detailed programmes of cooperation in the accelerated development of nuclear energy which is contained in the complex programme of scientific-technical progress of CMEA member-states till the year 2000.

The prospects for using radiation technology in the preservation of foodstuffs and non-destructive testing of industrial equipment were also analyzed in the course of the debates. The commission also approved the draft on "The Principles of the Safe Transport of Waste Nuclear Fuels" from nuclear power plants of CMEA member-states.

Chairman of the debates, president of the State Agency of Atomistics Mieczyslaw Sowinski stressed in an interview for PAP that the discussion unequivocally pointed to the necessity of further deepening international cooperation in the field of more broad and safe use of nuclear energy.

CPSL CENTRAL COMMITTEE ELECTS OFFICIALS

LD262210 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Excerpts] The CPSL Central Committee met today in Bratislava. The proceedings were opened by Comrade Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, who welcomed Comrade Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Delivering a report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium on the implementation of the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee on the further development and improvement of the Slovak party's membership base following the 17th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress, Comrade Jozef Lenart stressed that one of the basic conditions for carrying out the increasingly taxing tasks of building socialism is to enhance the party's ability to act and to strengthen its leading role. A key issue in this process was the development and improvement of the membership base, Comrade Lenart stated. However, it is still vital, he continued, to strengthen the working-class character of the party, and especially to enhance the party's influence on young workers in the production sphere and on young people in general. It is an important task, he continued, to strengthen the membership base in those sectors which are crucial from the viewpoint of implementing party policy and intensifying the national economy, above all in the preproduction stages, and in the whole area of science and research.

Comrade Lenart pointed out that today, as has been the case throughout the 65 years of the CPCZ history, when we are tackling truly revolutionary tasks of speeding up socioeconomic development, it is the quality of the party ranks that determines the party's ability to act.

A number of comrades and representatives from the sphere of science, practical life and youth organizations spoke in the discussion, stressing the importance of putting into effect the resolutions adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

Comrade Lenart, winding up today's session of the CPSL Central Committee, emphasized that at the current stage of building a developed socialist society the leading role of the party is objectively growing and its vanguard role in elevating society to a qualitatively higher and newer stage of its development is increasing. In particular, he stressed, it is necessary to continue to develop the party as the party of the working class, taking into account is qualitative changes arising from social progress.

Eleven discussion contributions were made at today's session of the CPSL Central Committee.

The CPSL Central Committee also discussed some cadre proposals. It elected Comrade Ivan Gonko member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium, and Comrade Jozef Durica member of the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat.

It released Comrade Pavol Hrivnak from the post of member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium in connection with his assignment to another post.

It elected the chairmen and members of the CPSL Central Committee Commissions as follows:

Ideological Commission: Chairman Ludovit Pezlar
Economic Commission: Chairman Miloslav Hruskovic
Agriculture and Food Commission: Chairman Jan Janik
Youth Work Commission: Chairman Jan Janik.

At the end of its session today, the CPSL Central Committee unanimously adopted a resolution. The session ended with the singing of the Internationale.

KAPEK HEADS DELEGATION TO MOSCOW 30 JUN

LD301352 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Moscow: A delegation of the Prague City CPCZ Committee headed by Antonin Kapek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chief secretary of the party's city committee, arrived in Moscow for a visit today. The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Vasilii Zakharov, second secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, and other representatives of the Moscow Gorkom organization.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD302231 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] The Soviet Union -- A delegation of the Prague City Committee of the CPCZ led by Antonin Kapek, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague City CPCZ Committee, ended its visit to the Soviet Union today and left for home.

Results of talks between delegations of the Prague City CPCZ Committee and the Moscow Gorkom of the CPSU were appreciated, in an interview to Czechoslovak journalists, by the heads of delegations Antonin Kapek and Boris Yeltsin, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom.

Participants in the talks outlined the further development and deepening in some spheres and the further enlivening of mutual cooperation in the political, economic and social spheres.

Antonin Kapek highly appreciated a specific proposal put forward by Boris Yeltsin for the working out of a 5-year treaty on cooperation in party work. He said that measures agreed upon in Moscow would be implemented by us. Antonin Kapek, at the end of his visit, highly appreciated the enthusiasm of Moscow Communists in the consistent implementation of conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which serve as a lesson to us for the implementation of conclusions of the CPCZ Congress.

JAKES, ECONOMIC COMMISSION DISCUSS DRAFT PLANS

LD302118 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] The Economic Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed in Prague today the draft of the Eighth 5-Year Plan of economic and social development of Czechoslovakia and the state implementation plan for 1987. Chaired by Milos Jakes, its chairman and member of Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, the commission also discussed the draft Eighth 5-Year Plan of development of science, technology, standardization and the state implementation plan of technical development for next year.

In the course of broad businesslike discussion, members of the commission supported the drafts and put forward a whole number of proposals which will be used when finalizing the drafts.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ANNOUNCES DEATH OF KERSTEN

LD291811 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the GDR announces with deep sorrow that Rolf Kersten, minister for construction of heavy machinery and equipment, died today at the age of 50 after a serious illness.

HONECKER CONTINUES VISIT TO STOCKHOLM; MEETS KVIST

LD261419 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1210 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Stockholm, 26 Jun (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee general secretary received the secretary of the Party of the Left (Communists), Kenneth Kvist, for a friendly meeting Thursday morning at his residence in Haga Castle. Current issues in the struggle for the preservation of peace and relations between the SED and the Party of the Left (Communists) were discussed.

Erich Honecker and Kenneth Kvist both agreed that in view of the Reagan administration and its closest NATO allies' adventurist policy of arms escalation and confrontation, the struggle for preventing a nuclear inferno and for a switch to disarmament and an improvement in the international situation, represents the most urgent contemporary task. The communists, it was underlined, are prepared to cooperate with all forces that display reason and realism. Here a further increase of the activity of the workers' movement, the cooperation of communists, social-democrats and trade unionists in the peace struggle is particularly important. The historic opportunity offered by the Soviet proposals for freeing the world from all nuclear and mass destruction weapons by the year 2000 and the Warsaw Pact's new initiative for a marked reduction in conventional armed forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals must not be wasted. Above all, it is important to immediately halt nuclear weapons' tests, prevent the development of space offensive weapons, and prevent a new round of the chemical arms race.

Kenneth Kvist praised the contribution made by the SED and the GDR through their active policy of businesslike dialogue and mutually beneficial cooperation to overcome confrontation and tensions. He stressed that the Party of the Left (Communists) actively supports the further development of good-neighborly cooperation between Sweden and the GDR.

Erich Honecker expressed recognition for the work carried out by the Party of the Left (Communists) with the Social-Democrats and other political forces for strengthening security in northern Europe, particularly for the creation of a nuclear weapons free zone. He wished the Swedish Communists best success in their struggle for lasting peace and the preservation of the Swedish people's vital interests.

Erich Honecker and Kenneth Kvist underlined the usefulness of the contacts and exchanges of experience between the two parties which are being further deepened on the basis of the universally recognized and proven principles of relations between communist parties.

PEOPLE'S CHAMBER GROUP CONTINUES TALKS IN FRG

AU281359 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jun 86 p 2

[Text] Bonn (ADN) -- The delegation of the Youth Committee of the GDR People's Chamber, presently in the FRG, met with the working circle for youth policy of the SPD parliamentary group in the North-Rhine Westphalian Landtag in Duesseldorf on Wednesday [25 June].

The delegation, headed by Hans-Joachim Willerding, chairman of the FDJ parliamentary group, was briefed about the problems of vocational training and youth unemployment and its consequences. A talk with Hermann Heinemann, North-Rhine Westphalian minister of labor, health, and social affairs, concentrated on possibilities of further developing the cooperation between both German states, above all in the fields of youth policy, environmental protection, and culture.

On Tuesday [24 June] evening at a reception given in honor of the delegation and attended by Bundestag deputies of the SPD, FDP, and the Greens, Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD Bundestag parliamentary group, welcomed the meeting of People's Chamber and Bundestag deputies dealing with youth policy as a useful opportunity for an exchange of experiences. The talks between the SED and SPD on a zone free of nuclear weapons and the successfully concluded consultations on a zone free of chemical weapons are important contributions to detente, Horst Ehmke stated.

Hans-Joachim Willerding stressed that the GDR youth attentively follows the development of East-West relations and tries to constructively contribute to improving the international climate and achieving peaceful coexistence.

The delegation visited the training workshop of the Cologne Ford works and the Essen vocational advancement center and used the opportunity for talks with trade union and youth representatives on the social situation and the rights of the young generation.

EDUCATION MINISTER MAKES 'OFFICIAL VISIT' TO PRC

LD261259 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0545 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Beijing, 26 Jun (ADN) -- GDR Minister of Education Margot Honecker, member of the SED Central Committee, arrived in the PRC today for an official visit. Margot Honecker is there at the invitation of Li Peng, member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Commission for Education.

During her visit, Margot Honecker will hold talks about developments in education in the two countries and acquaint herself with education institutions in the PRC.

PRC 'STUDY DELEGATION' ARRIVES FOR VISIT

LD271540 East Berlin ADN International Service in 1212 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Berlin, 27 Jun (ADN) -- A study delegation from the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the PR of China arrived for a visit to the GDR on Friday. During their several-day visit the guests will become acquainted in Berlin and in Dresden and Potsdam Bezirke with the tasks of the state and justice authorities and their cooperation with the people's assemblies. The program of the study tour includes talks with the chairman and members of the Constitution and Law Committee, the president of the Supreme Court, the general prosecuting attorney and in the Justice Ministry.

The delegation, led by Song Rufen, vice chairman of the Legislative Work Commission, was warmly welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Professor Wolfgang Weichert, chairman of the Constitution and Law Committee in the People's Chamber. He expressed his conviction that this visit would contribute to the development of the good relations between the two countries' Parliaments.

CITIZENS, COLLECTIVES RECEIVES STATE ORDERS

AU301606 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 86 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Thursday [26 June] in Berlin, outstanding prominent figures and collectives were honored with high state awards. They have been bestowed on them at the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and of the Council of Ministers Presidium. Paying tribute to special merits for universally strengthening the GDR as well as for the work for peace and international cooperation, Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the State Council, Politburo member, and secretary of the SED Central Committee, handed over the order "Star of International Friendship," the honorary badge of the order for Service to the Fatherland in gold, the Order for Service to the Fatherland, and the Order Banner of Labor to veterans of the workers movement, members of the People's Police and working people from enterprises and institutions.

The festive event in the State Council building as attended by Werner Krolikowski, SED Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Inge Lange, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Kurt Seibt, chairman of the SED Central Auditing Commission; members of the Council of Ministers, among them Otto Arndt, minister of transportation; Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of interior and head of the German People's Police, and Wolfgang Junker, minister of construction, as well as other prominent figures.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY OUTLINED AT EXHIBITION

LD261531 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1432 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Leipzig, 25 Jun (ADN) -- The GDR's economic strategy also fully applies to socialist agriculture, forestry, and food economy. This was stated by Werner Felde, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee at a seminar with leading cadres and practical workers of socialist agriculture today at the GDR agricultural exhibition Agra 1986 in Leipzig-Markleeberg. "It is a matter of shaping agriculture into a branch of applied science, deepening the process of the acceleration and broad use of scientific-technical progress and, above all, or increasingly applying key technologies in practice." This was part of the two systems' peaceful competition.

"Our 11th Congress make clear, in full agreement with the 27th CPSU Congress, that only peace guarantees the safety of our planet and that war cannot be a means of deciding the historical conflict between capitalism and socialism."

In this 5-year plan, too, it is a case of "ensuring the production of food and agricultural raw materials in quantity, structure, and quality that meet the population's and industry's needs from our own output in a stable manner and at a constantly higher level," Felde stressed. This meant consistently implementing the comprehensive intensification of agriculture and giving this process a lasting character.

"In the reproduction process in agriculture there will be far-reaching changes through the application and utilization of microelectronics, computer technology, biotechnology, the cultivation and breeding of new and the improvement of existing types of plants and breeds of animals through gene technology. It can already be seen today that future industrialized agricultural production will be based on the integrated use of mechanical, chemical, electronic, and biological means of work and technologies."

In connection with the long-term development concepts, it is necessary to elaborate integrated programs for implementing scientific-technical progress to the year 1990. In this connection, the commitment entered into to harvest by this date average per hectare yields of 50 decitonnes of grain, 300 decitonnes of potatoes, and 400 decitonnes of sugar beet was a realistic goal.

Werner Felfe, stressed that there also were high demands in the animal production sector. The required growth is to be achieved primarily through raising the performance per animal, with beef farming playing an increasingly central role in animal production.

"The comprehensive intensification of agriculture requires that emphasis be even more strongly placed on increasing the efficiency of production. High yields and performances are and will remain the pivotal point for ensuring high production efficiency," Felfe said. This also set new yardsticks for lowering production consumption per product. The even more effective implementation of the performance principle plays a decisive role in this connection.

He described modernization as the main direction of the reproduction of fixed assets. "This requires, in the process of maintenance, the purposeful undertaking of modernization of key machines and, through the further development of in-house construction of rationalization equipment, the noticeable raising of the technological level of the work processes."

The agricultural production cooperatives (LPG) and the state farms (VEG) for crop cultivation and animal production were and would remain the basic units of social organization of production, Werner Felfe stated. "The present concentration, specialization, combination, and cooperation of work in and between them is comprehensible for the cooperative farmers and workers.

"Cooperation has proved itself as a characteristic of our agricultural policy. The deepening of cooperation will also be a main concern of our party in the future. It makes the collaboration of publicly owned and cooperative property possible; it has helped to overcome the temporary separation of plant and animal production."

"We continue to regard the capacity of the preparatory work sector as an important manpower reserve for mastering work peaks in primary production. The agroindustrial associations are a developed form of cooperation. The agricultural production cooperatives and the state farms are and will remain the basic units of production in them also," Felfe stressed.

He continued: "We see individual production on the personal plots of the cooperative farmers and workers and in the Association of Allotment Holders, Gardeners and Small Animal Breeders and also of other small producers as a useful and necessary complement to agricultural production in the agricultural production cooperatives and the state farms in the future as well." Above all, there must be greater success in directing initiative to the production of those products and produce which will ensure a more varied level of supply regionally.

"The 11th SED Congress stressed that the development of the socialist village as the center of agricultural production and country life is a firm part of our agricultural and alliance policy. It is part of the principle of our agricultural policy that the LPG and the VEG increase their political and economic influence on the development of the villages. This includes taking over local services, creating children's facilities, communal kitchens, dining rooms, restaurants, sports facilities, and constructing roads and water mains.

The LPG and the VEC must increasingly help in the establishment of supply services such as fruit juice production, bakeries and butchers' shops." Felfe said. Also it is a matter of well-kept villages characterized by good living conditions, an active social, intellectual, cultural, and sporting life, and a close community of village inhabitants.

HONECKER CONGRATULATES BRANDT ON REELECTION

AU301622 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 86 p 2

[Message from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Brandt, on the occasion of your reelection as president of the Socialist International I convey to you cordial congratulations, combined with the wishes for successes in implementing the resolutions of the 17th Congress of the Socialist International aimed at limiting and reducing the nuclear, chemical, and conventional arms, at preventing the militarization of space.

In the interest of averting a nuclear catastrophe, the SED and the GDR will also in the future be prepared to communicate and cooperate with all forces of peace, realism, and reason.

We regard it as a requirement of our time to make an efficient contribution to improving the international situation and returning to detente through a policy of dialogue and cooperation.

Yours respectfully, Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman

GREETINGS SENT TO 13TH LCY CONGRESS DELEGATES

AU281644 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jun 86 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has sent the following greetings to the delegates of the 13th LCY Congress in Belgrade:

Dear comrades, the SED Central Committee conveys fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 13th LCY Congress and to all Yugoslav Communists.

We are pleased that the SFRY working people, under the leadership of the LCY, are working with great industriousness and energy to advance the socialist construction of the country and to actively contribute to the peoples' struggle for peace, disarmament, and international understanding. Thinking of the historic achievements of their pioneers, the Yugoslav Communists are advancing on the path of Tito in order to preserve and augment the revolutionary achievements.

We wish the 13th LCY Congress, which will discuss the comprehensive and complicated tasks that have to be solved in the coming period, successful deliberations.

Linked by long-standing ties of traditional friendship with the LCY and the SFRY, the SED and the GDR are determined to further universally expand relations.

The foundations agreed upon in the coexistence of our peoples are marked by stability.

During the friendly talks on the highest level in October 1985, they were enriched by new aims and possibilities of cooperation. Thus, the trustful cooperation between our parties is resulting in broader prosperous contacts between our states and peoples.

The views which move both of us, which are in agreement with each other or are becoming more and more similar, are increasingly reflected in our international activities, as here the responsibility for preserving peace takes first place.

We are concerned about the growing dangers to peace and the future of the peoples caused by the most reactionary circles of imperialism. The militarization of space and the nuclear catastrophe, a threat that is becoming all the more clear, must be prevented. The world needs a new approach to safeguarding peace, mutually guaranteed security for all states and peoples, increased efforts to solve other global issues in order to be able to survive. No one can close one's mind to that.

We fully support the peace initiatives of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, which point out an acceptable way for all people toward a change for the better in the world; at the same time, we undertake everything in our strength to contribute to improving the international situation through a policy of result-oriented businesslike dialogue and cooperation.

In the struggle for world peace we rely on the joint action of all forces of peace, reason, and realism. This also includes the Nonaligned Movement as an important international factor.

With the resolutions of its recently concluded 11th Congress, the GDR Communists have set themselves demanding tasks aimed at consistently continuing the course tested in life and directed toward the well-being of the people, the strengthening of socialism, and the securing of peace. We are prepared to consistently utilize the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution to strengthen socialism and to link stable dynamic growth of the national economy with social progress in the future as well. This course is based on the trust and the performance readiness of the entire people.

We express the deep conviction that the Yugoslav Communists, the revolutionary vanguard of the peoples of Yugoslavia, will take new significant steps along the path of socialism and peace in implementing the resolutions of its 13th Congress.

With communist greetings, SED Central Committee, E. Honecker, general secretary.

BILD REPORTS FUGITIVES KILLED IN SUBWAY SHOOT-OUT

DW010825 Hamburg BILD in German 1 Jul 86 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "East Berlin: Flight, Bloodbath in Subway Tunnel?"]

[Text] Twelve young people from the GDR wanted to flee through a Berlin subway tunnel: The most risky attempt to flee since the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 has obviously ended in a bloodbath. Six fugitives are said to have been killed in a shootout, and six are said to have been executed later. Among the fugitives was the son of a major general.

Details of the attempted flight leaked out when Deputy Paetzold (SPD) had asked about "rumors" in the Berlin house of deputies: According to them a subway train began to burn between the East Berlin stations Klosterstrasse and Alexanderplatz in a shootout between fugitives and GDR security forces.

According to various sources in Bonn and in both parts of Berlin the following has happened: The 12 fugitives -- all of them reservists, among them six paratroopers and two sons of high-ranking state security officers -- had hijacked an empty train of eight cars.

They picked a route where two subway lines were running parallel: one for the East Berlin traffic, the other for transit trains of the West Berlin subway running through the East without stopping. Prior to the construction of the wall the tracks were connected by a switch that is now blocked.

The fugitives wanted to release the switch, blow up a wall 24 cm thick between the tracks and reach the West Berlin station Marienplatz at a distance of only 800 m with their train.

It was said that the plan has been betrayed. On a day in May GDR citizens heard shots at 1200: Six fugitives are said to have been killed in a hail of bullets. The flight train was burned.

The SED newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported the fire on 9 May -- without a word about the attempted flight. The involved fire brigade men were decorated with medals.

The surviving refugees are said to have been sentenced to death by the East Berlin Supreme Court and executed in Frankfurt/Oder.

Paper Reports Fire, No Shootings

AU010800 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 May 86 p 8

[Text] On Wednesday [7 May] at 1145 a fire started in the overpass tunnel in the subway between Klosterstrasse and Alexanderplatz in an empty subway train consisting of eight cars on its way for a technical inspection. Through the great personal engagement of the firemen, several fire trucks succeeded in extinguishing the fire by approximately 1430. Staff members of the Berlin transportation service (BVB) that were in the tunnel were taken away by the fire brigade or were able to save themselves through an emergency escape route. Eight BVB members that suffered injuries from smoke were given immediate medical aid. Five of them were able to leave the hospital after outpatient treatment. The other three are on the road to a fair recovery.

Due to the fire lines A and E of the subway were temporarily closed and relief buses [Schienenersatzverkehr] were introduced.

At 2030 subways were again operating on the section Alexanderplatz-Tierpark and on the Alexanderplatz-Pankow section. Repair work is still continuing on the Alexanderplatz-Otto-Grotewohl-Strasse section. Due to the intense heat and smoke, it was necessary to close Grunerstrasse temporarily to traffic including the autotunnel for safety reasons. Shops in the vicinity also had to be temporarily closed. The causes of the fire are being investigated.

West German Reports Denied

AU010801 Paris AFP in English 0753 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Excerpt] Berlin, July 1 (AFP) -- East Germany on Tuesday categorically denied West German press reports that from 12 to 15 East Germans were killed in a shootout as they attempted to escape to the West on a hijacked underground train on May 7.

A spokesman for the East German Foreign Ministry called the reports a "shameless lie", and refused further comment.

The West German newspapers FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE and BILD reported on Tuesday that a group including East German reservists and the sons of two East German senior intelligence officers seized an eight-car underground train and headed for West Berlin.

Repair Work Said Continuing

AU010857 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 86 p 8

[Excerpt] In the overpass tunnel of the subway between Alexanderplatz and Klosterstrasse, in which a train of empty passenger cars caught fire on Wednesday [7 May] the repair work that started immediately after the fire had been extinguished continued on Thursday. Members of the Berlin transportation services and working people from the steel construction VEB and the plant for signalling technology and safety regulations are working to clear the burned out cars from the rails to repair signalling and safety facilities, and to prepare to restart operations. They have also started to clean the soot from the stations. According to findings so far the repair work in this section also calls for comprehensive construction measures. Due to the intense heat build up, the loadbearing capacity of the floor construction is restricted in a section of the tunnel. Therefore, in some parts steel beams and concrete elements must be replaced. This work is being carried out round the clock and will probably continue till 12 May.

W. BERLIN CITIZEN HELD FOR 'SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES'

LD300934 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0904 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Berlin, 30 Jun (ADN) -- The inhabitant of Berlin (West), Martin Steinmann, was caught and detained by the CDR security organs at the Drewitz GDR border crossing point on 26 June because of serious crimes against the GDR. As a paid agent of a criminal gang operating from Berlin (West) and the FRG, he was involved in subversive activities under misuse of the transit agreement and the GDR entry and visitor arrangements. Preliminary proceedings were begun and an arrest warrant issued.

GABOR DEAK NAMED NEW UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

LD272057 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI) -- Istvan Buda has been released, as of June 30, of his post as under-secretary of state by the Hungarian Presidential Council, and as president of the National Office for Physical Education and Sport by the Council of Ministers, on account of retirement and with recognition of his merits.

The Presidential Council appointed Gabor Deak, as of July 1, under-secretary of state, and the Council of Ministers as president of the State Office for Youth and Sport.

The Presidential Council has awarded the Order of Merit for Socialist Hungary to Istvan Buda for decades of successful work, on the occasion of his retirement. The medal was presented by Lajos Czinege, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, on Friday.

LOSONCZI ADDRESSES PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL SESSION

LD271608 Budapest MTI in English 1345 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI) -- The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic met in session on Friday.

President Pal Losonczi informed the council on the official friendship visit to Hungary of Canaan Sodindo Banana, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, and on the official visit to Hungary of Kenan Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey, which took place recently.

The Presidential Council established that the visit of President C.S. Banana was useful, successful, and an important stage of the system of high-level meetings and rapidly developing political relations. The visit created a good opportunity for the parties to exchange views on the issues of international peace and security, with particular regard to Africa, mainly to the latest developments in the southern region of that continent. The recent high-level talks also reflected that Hungary and the Republic of Zimbabwe maintained identical or similar views on the most important international issues. Relying upon the favourably developing relations there are further opportunities for the development of bilateral cooperation, mainly through the expansion of the reciprocally advantageous economic and commercial forms. It was also reflected by the agreements signed by the authorized representatives of the two countries during the visit.

In cordial talks with President Kenan Evren of the Republic of Turkey views were exchanged on the most important topical international affairs, the need of averting the dangers threatening international security and peace, and the possibilities of cooperation between the countries with diverging social systems. The parties surveyed the relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Turkey, and possibilities of the further development of cooperation. The sides expressed their common intention to develop reciprocally beneficial relations. As a result of the visit and talks the high-ranking authorized representatives of the parties signed some agreements on cooperation.

The Presidential Council noted the report with approval.

The Presidential Council passed a law-decree on the foundation of a state office for youth and sports which will exercise state control over youth and sports affairs and act as a national authority under the direct supervision of the Council of Ministers. The new form of management is to promote the physical training of young people and a healthy way of life of the population.

The law-decree is to take effect on July 1 and the State Youth Commission and the National Office for Physical Education and Sports will cease operation simultaneously.

Another law-decree passed by the Presidential Council comprehensively regulated the liquidation process of economic organizations. The new regulation more efficiently reflects the interests of creditors, and promotes the objective evaluation of the causes of liquidation and the assertion of interests related to the security of contractual relations. Under the new regulation liquidation belongs to the scope of courts. With regard to the importance of such cases, proceedings are instituted by the Budapest metropolitan court on first instance, and by the supreme court on the second. The rules of rehabilitation by the state will be set down by the Council of Ministers. The law-decree and the relevant rules are to take effect on September 1.

The Presidential Council passed a law-decree on the state registration of the population. In compliance with the present development level of the registration of the population the law-decree stipulates the requirements of the development of this activity, and sets tasks in the management and control of state registration of the population.

MARJAI, KARPATI, HETENYI BEFORE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

LD271530 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1625 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Speeches by Dr Istvan Hetenyi, minister of finance; Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Economic Policy Commission; and Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense to the 26 June National Assembly session; no video available -- passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Having analyzed the difficulties and problems, Istvan Hetenyi discussed the measures planned by the government.

[Hetenyi] "Esteemed National Assembly. The difficulties do not in any way change the fact that the programs approved at the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and legislated by the National Assembly in the 7th 5-Year Plan continue to be the direction set down for us for our work. For that reason, the government regards it as its duty to facilitate efficiency and the acceleration of the transformation of the structure, to improve the equilibrium, with measures beyond those in the plan. In this framework, we are providing tax and credit concessions, to be awarded by tender, to enterprises capable of development, to those which fulfill the requirements of today and the future with improving performance. With that we are directing both existing capacities and extra investment to increase exports to a greater extent than before.

"The discussion with CEMA members first and foremost the Soviet Union, aimed at the mutual expansion of economic relations beyond that contained in the plan, also serve the goal of strengthening the basis of development. The underpinning of the greatest priorities with better performances at the enterprises capable of development facilitates the achievement of higher incomes. For that reason as well, to restrict inflation, it has become indispensable to regroup incomes from those who create small incomes, that is, to reduce the budgetary and other subsidies precisely in the case of these enterprises.

"The reduction of subsidies must be applied to enterprises and to public expenditure, without affecting the social, cultural and health expenditures. Some of the elements of these measures are temporary and include such steps as the exclusion of the reserves of the planning and budget from the realization of new targets and the reduction during the year of support given to central administrative, management and other organs and to certain enterprises.

"We must accept the seemingly forceful measures, which, however, serve the overcoming of the problems and the achievement of rational thrift, because, even so, it unfortunately appears inevitable that in the course of the year, and perhaps until the end of the year, the budget will develop unfavorably in comparison to that which was planned."

[Correspondent] With this contribution, we now recall through the remarks of Jozsef Marjai his statements, on occasion self-critical, which relate to the work of the administration.

[Marjai] "The 1986 people's economic plan has taken into consideration the characteristics of the economic operation in 1985 only partially, primarily because -- and this must be spoken about in a self-critical manner -- during 1985 we accepted one after another optimistic prognosis which life has not justified. This meant measures fully in harmony with the situation and the objectives could be incorporated into the plan itself, and in the regulations, only to a limited extent. This too played a role in the fact that the unfavorable tendencies of 1985 continued at the beginning of 1986 and in that the government had to take several, supplementary and additionally assisting measures immediately after the start of the year.

"Criticism of the administration's economic direction work may be sensed in public opinion responsive to economic issues recently. These criticisms -- if it may be described as such -- come from different directions and often with conflicting contents. While according to some the administration intervenes too often in the economic process, others urge more active intervention; both opinions have truth in them. Enterprises -- particularly those operating better -- take justifiable exception to the excessively frequent change of regulators and particularly to changes which result in taking incomes away from them. Enterprises -- whose economic operation is weaker or in fact lossmaking -- consider as small the administration's measures which they think necessary and which result in the improvement of their situation. The real contradictions of our positions are expressed in these views, because our people's economy has no such resources out of which we would be able to satisfy even the justified demands or that the development of balanced economic conditions could be left to simple automatic processes. Therefore selectivity must prevail in the more thoroughly thought-out usage of resources and in the interest of this we must tie the regulations to the other tools of central direction in a rational and necessary fashion.

"No plan or regulation exists which would create conditions favorable for everyone at any time. Our programs are realistic, they are possible to materialize but demand the decisive concentration of means in the realisation process and a strict setting of priorities regarding the objectives. In this we are not sufficiently consistent, which warns us that in planning and in all economic management there is need for greater flexibility, a more thorough consideration of the real processes and increased practicality."

[Correspondent] Then Jozsef Marjai, relating to the 1986 people's economic plan and budget, familiarized his audience with the measures already introduced and designed to promote the implementation of the plan and budget. He mentioned that as a result of the comprehensive system of competitive tender, enterprises have already undertaken the obligation to expand their production and export by several tens of billions of forints, part of which will be materialized as early as this year. Another part of the measures aims at providing incentives for export which may be produced with existing capacities. There was also a need for the introduction of measures to limit wages and redeploy resources in the people's economy.

[Marjai] "All these measures are compatible with the wishes laid down in our government plan and in the 5-year plan. International experiences show that countries with capabilities similar to ours can ensure the resources necessary for advance only with the expansion of economic export based on a selective development policy.

"It is raised on occasions that the government was too late with measures. True, a number of measures should have been introduced earlier. However, I think it was not the measures expanding resources which were late. On the contrary, we rather provided them in advance. This advance provision, acceptance of a risk with full knowledge, is true even in such a sensitive area like the hard currency import because the import of advanced technology in the first 5 months [of 1986] is more than \$150,000,000 higher than in the same period last year.

"It is clear from the account that 1985 tax returns and subsidies to the enterprise management and economic organs -- at a time when the national income was decreasing -- exceeded by some 13 billion forints the envisaged sum, which was already high in any case. We cannot allow this to happen constantly. In the coming period we must return to the policy of cutting and regressing budgetary subsidies.

"It becomes clear from all this that our belatedness has been true rather of those difficult, but in the end unavoidable, decisions to redevelop resources, increase savings and change inefficient economic activities.

"Esteemed National Assembly. We can already say that our measures introduced in recent weeks do not provide generally greater allowances to economic organizations but expand the financial and management maneuvering room of the efficient, competitive economic units whose production means technological renewal. However, it remains a valid requirement that incentive and compulsion must be tied stronger than before to one another; that we should make selectivity prevail in stiffening and in the taking money away and that we should set stricter conditions for the enterprises of low efficiency and low profit when preparing the regulations."

[Correspondent] Following this Jozsef Marjai spoke about an issue much debated nowadays; his theme is the question of work discipline.

[Marjai] "We cannot postpone further the strengthening of work discipline. Several government decrees have been born -- as is known -- for the protection of the work time reserve; for the expansion of the possibilities of consuming services outside working hours, for the placement of office hours of organizations dealing with the various affairs of the population outside working hours. The implementation of these is taking place continuously. At the same time it has been proven that only by a series of more comprehensive measures it is possible to effect appropriate changes in this area. The consequences of the looseness of the discipline of the citizenry cause serious damages, both directly and indirectly, in economic building work as well. It is our duty to take a more determined stand -- if this cannot be solved by economic means alone if the need arises, via the employment of administrative measures as well -- against the phenomena of corruption, gaining income without work, money grabbing and profiteering."

[Correspondent] We must treat expenditures in a stricter manner too regarding all institutions, offices and economic units. This is how Jozsef Marjai continued his contribution analyzing our economic problems. Improvement of internal economic cooperation links is indispensable and so is more disciplined and honest cooperation between enterprises. In closing, the deputy premier dealt with issues of further economic development.

[Marjai] "We are rather well advanced in the process of further development of the management system from the point of view of standpoints, legal regulations and the institutional system. At the same time, practically speaking, we are still rather at the start of the process. It was partly our situation -- the meagerness of the necessary resources -- and partly subjective factors which failed to make possible a progress at the rate envisaged. New and old live simultaneously in the practice of today."

Although the role of the new tools and methods should not be held in low esteem the comprehensive development of our direction and our methods need, at the same time, a certain amount of time and expense which cannot be neglected and with which we shall have to calculate in a more thorough fashion in the future.

"We must speed up the implementation of our program to develop the economic management system in a manner rationally possible. Where it is possible to start there might be a need for bringing forward some steps which earlier plans envisaged to be implemented at a later stage, so our financial system, price system and methods of direction should function as a system of signals more comprehensible from the point of view of the economy and which provide a better foundation for our economic policy priorities as well as working with a greater compulsive force. This should be coupled with our eliminating at the same time those ill-matched situations which weaken the degree of effectiveness of management, our inconsistencies; and where the mechanisms do not prevail or can do so only to a limited degree we must strengthen the influence of the administration on the processes.

"Our economic organizations, enterprises and the various entrepreneurial forms must be provided with equal treatment and equal conditions in such a way that in the competition and cooperation between them their really existing particular advantages should be able to prevail."

[Correspondent] Following the debate Istvan Hetenyi replied to questions, then the National Assembly adopted unanimously the draft budget.

[Correspondent] The deputies then went on to the next point on the agenda and Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, rose to speak. In his introduction he stressed the report he has submitted came about for one and only one reason. The national defense law is 10 years old and here is just one proof of how good this law has been: In the past 10 years it had to be modified only once -- and even that was a pleasant modification, perhaps you remember it: The 24-month compulsory military service was reduced to 18 months. The law, therefore, has turned out a success and changes are not planned in future, either. One thing that could be considered, perhaps, is that students admitted to university might be permitted to choose whether to fulfill their military service before or after their studies. After this the minister spoke in detail about the results and problems connected with young soldiers.

[Karpati] "We devote a lot of care to the development of young people's general and professional training. Within the Army there is a significant system of skilled and semi-skilled worker training and special machine-handling courses. Annually, some 3,500 young people obtain skilled and semi-skilled workers qualifications during their military service. Many of them, who enlist with 8 years of general schooling behind them, pass out of the Army as railway or road gangmen or perhaps as brigade leaders. In the case of those who for some reason have not completed the 8 years in general school, we make it possible for them, in addition to their military training, in the system that has been developed jointly with the Ministry of Education of Culture, to study during their military service, to make up for their backwardness.

"We devote special attention to developing the intellectual values of the young people enlisting for compulsory military service. This is guaranteed by a network of youth clubs, amateur artistic groups, study circles, including large numbers of linguistic, video and computer study circles, as well as the variously equipped troop libraries.

"My esteemed fellow deputies. No doubt the question occurs to many of you: Do we have any problems in the training of the soldiers. Yes, there are. We have to speak honestly about these, as well. Although the bigger proportion of our enlisting youth have adequate education and professional training, all the same today's young people in their twenties have not much life experience. For this reason their education demands a well-thought out, serious task, attention and a high degree of competence on the part of the educators.

"Unfortunately, a growing number of new recruits have already committed illegal acts. Dealing with them makes many problems for the professional staff, in any case already considerably strained. Even in spite of the rules of law brought into effect so far, even in spite of health instruction, there is frequent drinking and the troubles arising from this are causing problems.

"This occurs mainly outside the service period, on leave and travel, which naturally gives rise to a bad reaction among the population. We have not yet been fully able to overcome phenomena which have their roots in bygone days, such as the so-called rags which occur between old soldiers and recruits -- that are in bad taste. If these are rarer nowadays, they remain harmful. For this very reason we take a determined stance against them. I would also raise here our other problems, such as the state of health of the soldiers.

"A significant number of young people, already when they are ranked, are unsuited for service, or are suitable only to a limited degree and have to be exempted from training and physical training occupations that demand a heavy physical burden. In the course of service a further 3 to 4 percent of them have to be discharged for health reasons. With these young men the illnesses take the form mainly of nervous or mobility disorders, cardiovascular, digestive complaints. This causes serious problems which are social and at the same time also have an effect on national defense."

[Correspondent] Well, just as it does everywhere in society. Apart from this, the minister mentioned that concessions in the period of service continue to be possible basically only for social reasons. On the other hand, it is conceivable that after the nineties, when as a consequence of the demographic situation, there will be considerably fewer soldiers on compulsory military service, the circle of those fulfilling shorter periods of compulsory military service will have to be narrowed. It was an endearing gesture on the part of Ferenc Karpati, defense minister, when he thanked the families bringing up their soldier sons and all those who have fulfilled with honor their national defense duties.

MARJAI DEPARTS BUDAPEST FOR MOSCOW 29 JUN

LD291653 Budapest MTI in English 1418 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI) -- On Sunday Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Soviet Inter-Governmental Committee for Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation, left for Moscow to attend the 35th session of the committee.

GROSZ LEADS MSZMP DELEGATION TO PZPR CONGRESS

LD281650 Budapest MTI in English 1521 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI) -- On Saturday [28 June] a Hungarian party delegation, headed by Karoly Grosz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, left for Warsaw to attend the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

KADAR WIRES GREETINGS TO SFRY'S RENOVICA

LD301521 Budapest MTI in English 1320 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party sent a telegram of greetings to Milanko Renovica on the occasion of his reelection [as received] as president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia by the 13th Congress of the LCY.

TURKEY'S PRESIDENT EVREN CONCLUDES OFFICIAL VISIT

'Cordial' Talks With Lazar

LD252032 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Excerpt] Budapest, June 25 (MTI) -- Wednesday [25 June] afternoon Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, called on Turkish President Kenan Evren, currently on an official visit in Hungary, at his residence. They held talks in a cordial atmosphere in the presence of Lajos Szalai, Hungarian ambassador to Turkey, and Asaf Inhan, Turkish ambassador to Hungary.

Delegations Hold Talks

LD252040 Budapest MTI in English 1833 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI) -- The members of the suite of Turkish President Kenan Evren, currently on an official visit in Hungary, held talks with their Hungarian partners in Budapest Wednesday.

Foreign Ministers Vahit Halefoglu and Peter Varkonyi exchanged views on several international political issues of importance, including the proposals contained in the Budapest appeal of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and the situation of the Middle East hotbeds of tension. They surveyed current tasks related to the development of bilateral relations between Hungary and Turkey.

Laszlo Kapolyi, Hungarian minister of industry, and Ahmet Selcuk, under-secretary of state at the Turkish Ministry of Energy and Resources, discussed possibilities for energetics cooperation between the two countries, with special regard to the provisions of the Hungarian-Turkish general energetics agreement signed in Budapest Tuesday, and they agreed on the exchange of experts.

Husamettin Celebi, general director of the ANATOLIA NEWS AGENCY, and Sandor Burjan, general director of the Hungarian News Agency, signed a cooperation agreement calling for the expansion of news and photo exchanges, under-secretary of state Rezso Banyasz, president of the Information Office of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met Husamettin Celebi.

Losonczi Toasts Evren

AU301146 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jun 86 p 4

[Report on toast by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, at the gala dinner in honor of President Kenan Evren of the Republic of Turkey in Budapest 25 June: "Gala Dinner in the Parliament -- Pal Losonczi's Toast"]

[Text] In his introduction Pal Losonczi expressed greetings to head of state Kenan Evren and members of his delegation and emphasized it was the first time we had the pleasure of welcoming a president of the Republic of Turkey to our homeland.

Pal Losonczi said, "Both in Hungary and in Turkey people treasure joint memories from some related chapters in history, and the fostering of the memories of the past contributes to increasing our present relations. As an example of successful cooperation between states with different social systems, Hungary and Turkey are increasing these relations on the basis of mutual advantage. That there are no unresolved or disputed political questions between our countries helps the expansion of relations. Evidence for this can be found in high-ranking meetings in recent years and the agreements concluded there. These present talks will open up further prospects for expanding relations between the two countries. The talks reflected the mutual political will for seeking opportunities to explore not fully exploited areas.

"The agricultural and energy cooperation agreements just signed by the responsible ministers created new opportunities for expanding economic cooperation, and the talks on expanding legal and consular relations are also evolving satisfactorily. Active work is also taking place in the field of expanding cultural relations: This year film festivals and exhibitions will be mutually organized in both countries; steps have been taken to renew the working plan for cultural cooperation; and there is an active cultural exchange taking place between Baranya County and Kutahya Province, as well as between Sarospatak and Tekirdag. Apart from these achievements, there are further opportunities to establish cooperation between scientific institutions and to bind their relations closer."

Pal Losonczi stressed, "The development of Hungarian-Turkish relations provides a good example of how countries with different social systems can conduct successful cooperation with each other on the basis of mutual respect and advantages. This is beneficial for our peoples and, at the same time, it contributes to building the confidence required for the political settlement of disputed international questions. It has been established at our talks that both Hungary and Turkey are in favor of preventing a world war, limiting the arms race, and continuing the process of detente. Our views are also similar on several other important issues concerning the international situation." Pal Losonczi pointed out, "The Hungarian People's Republic will seek to contribute to reducing tensions and providing a guarantee for equal security on the lowest possible level of arms. For this reason it is ready to hold dialogues and to cooperate with all realistic political forces which feel responsible for the fate of mankind."

He stressed further, "We are convinced the initiatives by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, taking into account the other side's legitimate security demands to a great extent, will provide a good starting basis for reducing the danger of war and consolidating international security.

"The Hungarian People's Republic will continue to make efforts to further develop the manifold and fruitful relations between the two states for the benefit of our countries and our peoples and for the advantage of the European process of security and cooperation," Pal Losonczi said in concluding his speech, and raising his glass, he drank to the health of Kenan Evren and his delegation, to the flourishing of the Republic of Turkey, to the friendship and cooperation of the Hungarian and Turkish peoples, as well as to the peace of Europe and the whole world.

Evren Departs

LD261343 Budapest MTI in English 1315 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 26 (MTI) -- Concluding his official visit to Hungary Kenan Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey, left Budapest on Thursday. The formal farewell ceremony took place on the square in front of the Parliament building where Kenan Evren and his party arrived in the company of Pal Losonczi.

Present at the ceremony were Rezso Trautmann, deputy president of the Presidential Council, Janos Peter, deputy speaker of Parliament, Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council, and several other leaders of Hungary's state and social life. Present at the event were several leaders and members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Budapest. After the ceremony held with military honours the guests and their hosts drove to the Ferihegy Airport where Pal Losonczi, Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister, Lajos Szalai, ambassador of Hungary to Turkey, and Asaf Inhan, ambassador of Turkey to Hungary, bade farewell to President Kenan Evren and his party.

PALESTINIAN DELEGATION MEETS LEADERS, DEPARTS

LD271751 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, headed by General Secretary Nayif Hawatmah, paid a visit to Hungary from June 19 to 27 on the invitation of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee.

Nayif Hawatmah met Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and held talks with Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, Sandor Jakab, chairman of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Maria Duschek, president of the National Council of Hungarian Women. He met Robert Ribanszki, secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, Ivan Szandtner, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary, Gyula Suto, secretary of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, and representatives of the Hungarian press.

Discussions were held on the work of the two movements, major international issues and the situation of the Middle East and the Palestinian people. Talks with leaders of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee covered further possibilities for the improvement of bilateral links. It was stated that the Hungarian Solidarity Committee continues to support the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the elimination of Israeli aggression, and for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, as well as the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for their inalienable national rights, including the right to independent statehood. The parties urged the organization of an international conference for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis, with the participation of all interested parties, including the Soviet Union and the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people. The Hungarian party stressed that the PLO should continue to be important in the struggle. They pointed out that the prime Palestinian concern today is the formation of a united PLO on anti-imperialist bases, and the coordination and strengthening of action with all progressive patriotic forces of the Arab world.

On Friday the Palestinian delegation left Budapest.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 10TH PZPR CONGRESS

Jaruzelski Gives Political Report

LD291009 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0728 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Political Report delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the 10th PZPR Congress in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Comrades delegates, esteemed guests: 5 years ago the extraordinary Congress was deliberating in this hall. Today the ordinary congress has begun work. The vast amount of tension and experiences, toil and achievements is behind these two words. The memory works selectively; it softens many things and puts them at a distance. However, the outline of not so distant times when our country was in a deep crisis and in the utmost danger is still clear in our memory. We do not hide with silence anything that in the recent years was shared by the party, the working class, and the nation. The collapse of the strategy of the past decade, full of mistakes, the large wave of social and workers discontent, and the offensive of counterrevolutionary forces preying on that -- all these coincided with a serious sharpening of the international situation, and with a subsequent imperialist attempt to turn the course of the history.

On the coast of our nation, on its actual territory there were attempts to use the internal strife in Poland to undermine the balance of forces in Europe; to destabilize its peaceful order.

The situation was dramatically difficult, but the party did not lose faith in the instinct and reason of the working class, in the feeling of patriotic responsibility of our nation. It was invariably guided by the conviction that one has to see an essential difference between the extreme, its inspirers and leaders, and millions of honest people who, most often unwittingly, were involved in the dangerous game. We gave the widest circles of society time to see the essence of antisocialist ideas; time for disenchantment with demagoguery, and actions and intentions harmful to Poland. We resorted to extraordinary measures in the time of utmost urgency, in order to defend the state from disintegration, the economy from devastation, and society from fraternal conflict. We used these measures not to reconstruct the old, but to defend the new -- to pave the way for the idea of socialist renewal: I declared that solemnly on 13 December 1981. It was confirmed with full strength by the Central Committee at the memorable seventh plenum. We have been following this path consistently. The speed and the extent of overcoming the difficulties vary. We still connect the satisfaction over what we have been able to achieve, with the awareness of the shortcomings. We still continue to struggle with the difficulties of everyday existence, and there is still a legacy of ill-feeling, disappointments and lack of confidence. We are fully aware that the barriers, both in the material sphere and in social awareness, can only be overcome gradually.

In this situation a question arises. Are we not uncovering weaknesses, revealing cases of neglect, giving material to our opponents? Such an impression may arise, but in fact in this way we take the initiative away from our opponents. The truth, even should it be bitter, is our weapon. Boldly using it, we are acting in the spirit of Leninism which draws its unquenchable strength from the class nature of reality, from the open and bold facing of the hardest problems. The party has undergone a severe trial. It has overcome its defensiveness, ideological confusion, organizational weakening. It has given battle to him who makes difficult the full exploitation of the possibilities of socialism, who affronts the principles of the system, slows things down and pulls it back into the past, who gives birth to the bitterness of unfulfillment. Seeing, undertaking, and solving our internal problems, we are conscious of their external conditioning and mutual dependence.

We are living at a turning point of history. At the end of our century fundamentally deep processes are increasing in force and intertwining. These include revolutionary, transformatory social changes and also the dynamic development of science and technology, the enormous changes formed by the genius of man and also the unfathomable, indeed fatal, threats. How to take advantage of this opportunity, overcome these threats? This question concerns everyone who thinks responsibly. The road can be indicated only by socialism, as it showed the way in the question of social justice, crucial for the liberation of working people; as, during the World War II, in Poland and many other countries it tied the question of national liberation to social liberation; as the idea of the equality of all nations was inspired by the great anti-imperialist and anticolonial movement. So also today, socialism is in a condition to reply to the basic dilemmas of the world at the end of the 20th century. We find it in the subject matter and historical achievements of the 27th CPSU Congress. Its nature is the unity of the three most important matters of today: Social progress, scientific-technical revolution, and peace. It constitutes a call to the activity of the masses. Our party solidarizes itself with the Leninist, innovatory achievements of the CPSU, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, with your creative and consequential activity. [applause]

It is precisely with this long-term trend of socialism for which you are boldly paving the way that we join the path of socialist renewal mapped out by the Ninth Congress which is being implemented by our party. In this trend we see the basic mainspring for the speedier growth of the material and spiritual strength of our community, a fact which has also been well underscored by the congresses of the fraternal parties. Nevertheless, the tasks facing Poland are particularly difficult and complex. Whereas other socialist countries have in past years been going forward at varying rates but even so in a resolute manner, and have invested and modernized their economies, and have been increasing their national income, we have sustained tremendous damage and have lost much valuable time. Some of the difficulties have a deeper foundation.

In our country the process of socialist and civilization-based transformations is both advanced and delayed at the same time. This stems partially from our particularly complex conditions and historical interdependence. This confirms the Leninist thesis that all nations will reach socialism -- this is inevitable -- but that they will not all reach it in the same way. Each will contribute something original to this or some other form of democracy, to this or some other variety of dictatorship of the proletariat and to this or some other rate of socialist transformation of various spheres of public life.

Revolutionary changes to the political system have been carried out in Poland. Great material and spiritual things have been achieved in our 40-year period. The country's economic potential has been increased manyfold, and the country's social structure has been deeply altered. The civilization-based and cultural standard of living of the nation has increased. In the majority of spheres, strong and durable foundations of socialism have been created. The socialist method of production is predominant. State power is of a socialist nature. A Marxist-Leninist party is carrying out the leading role.

Socialist processes in the sphere of people's rule, self-government at various levels of social and civic activity are at an advanced stage. However, if one measures them against universal principles of socialism, it turns out that in Polish reality front-ranking and sometimes unique solutions which are looking to the future are found side by side with the remains of previous formations. The year 1986 and sometimes even the embryos of the year 2000 are to be found side by side with 1945, 1939 and even with the legacy of considerably earlier eras. The old deep division of Poland A and Poland B has been really overcome.

However, in another sense, particularly in the sphere of human attitudes, modern thought, a feeling of civic responsibility; good management and efficiency, literal and moral purity clash with mental and physical idleness, incompetence and waste, and parish, in the same street and often in the same enterprise, school, and institution. We are aware of all the blocks and barriers but at the same time we have enough energy to not only overcome them but also to lengthen our stride and strive to climb higher and further.

The party draws the optimism which we bring to the 10th Congress from its faith in the working class, from its link with that class. History has confirmed Ludwik Warynski's words that the liberation of the working class from economic political, social and moral oppression has to be done by the workers themselves. Indeed, it was first and foremost they who were the causative force of our revolution, built the new system, and strengthened and defended it. Even in moments of greatest embitterment the working class retained the idea of socialism. It is collectively striving for a harmonious bonding of the principle of social justice with speedier economic development and progress in living conditions, with greater factual participation in governing the country. The 10th Congress should provide a clear reply to these strivings.

We base our optimism on the strength and performance of the worker-peasant alliance. Polish peasants have made a great contribution to the building of People's Poland which has opened a wide road for social advancement for them. Today their most important task is to ensure self-sufficiency in food for the country and their objective is higher social, material, and cultural standards of living in the countryside. The party will actively support all efforts in that direction.

The optimism of the party comes from its confidence in the Polish intelligentsia. Decimated by the aggressor and torn apart by various orientations, it took an active part in the birth of the new reality, joined in the building of the socialist homeland. Today its obligation is to pave the way for scientific and technical revolution and progress in civilization and culture. Our party will create conditions conducive to this.

An inexhaustible source of party optimism is the fervent patriotism and the creative strength of our people who want the homeland to be rich, well-managed and secure; and who want it to strengthen its proper place among other countries of the socialist community, Europe and the world.

These, comrades, are the most important premises on which we base the formulation of the program for the further socialist development of Poland, a program of tough tasks and vast work.

The materials prepared for the congress and tomorrow's report by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, which are devoted mainly to economic topics, illuminate comprehensively the entire subject matter of the congress. With your permission therefore, comrades, the Central Committee report will first and foremost be devoted to commenting on that which, in our view, is of greatest importance, that which requires special emphasis. At the same time, it is an attempt to summarize the abundant achievements of the pre-congress discussion. Many valuable observations and suggestions were conveyed by members of party echelons, numerous party and nonparty representatives of science and practice, as well as from voluminous correspondence addressed to the Central Committee and the first secretary. The report, therefore, has a very wide circle of coauthors. I pay cordial thanks to all of them.

Comrades, the Supreme, national task is to intensify developmental processes, make up the lost time, shorten the distance separating us from the scientific-technological and economic leaders. We will be valued in the world to the extent of our measurable value.

No country is really valued just for its historic fame. The fundamental issue is the ability to mobilize all forces and reserves in aid of a modern, effective development. In socialism, the economy should serve the people, their material prosperity, the comprehensive development of the human being. The fulfillment of this primary aim can be seen in our country with particular clarity. Under the influence of the collapse, the gap between needs and the degree of their fulfillment has deepened. Their leveling demands a significant increase in the economic capacity.

During the preCongress discussions, two very significant trends manifested themselves. The first expressed fears about whether the socioeconomic intentions presented are realistic. The second emphasized that they had little ambition, that they do not measure up to expectations. The demand was made to raise tasks and accelerate the rate of growth. The Central Committee shares the realistic intentions of the first trend and the bold, aggressive nature of the second trend. We must go forward more quickly. Acceleration is a historic necessity. It constitutes the primary concept of the draft party program, its strategic assumptions. It is at present being realized in the perspective plan, whose draft is being directed by the government for social consultation.

Acceleration, however, is not simply the pursuit of quantitative indicators. It is a complex process of deep qualitative transformations in all spheres of life, in the material sphere and in the social consciousness. The conditions for this are being created. The economy is moving onto the tracks of development. The selfless work of the miners, the effort of the whole working class, the farmers, the intelligentsia, the fundamental reform and social stabilization, contrary to the calculations of hostile centers and contrary to the predictions of pessimists, have brought tangible results. If, then, we take into account that the point of departure is the depth of the economic crisis, the obstacles put in our path, we will have achieved enormous progress.

However, weaknesses of various kinds occur, phenomena which hold us back and even drag us backward. The task for the immediate years ahead is to consolidate the developmental foundations, to restore equilibrium, to alleviate the most acute disproportions. This is the first phase of the acceleration. I will not illustrate the tasks connected with it in figures, because they are included in the draft 5-year plan, which has been given to delegates. It outlines the scale of the general growth trend [dynamika]. At the same time, it assumes that the sectors which contribute to modernizing the economy must develop more quickly than others. For example, the production of the electronics industry, the electrical engineering industry, the precision engineering industry, the engineering industry, and some artificial fiber industries will grow 1 1/2 to 2 times as rapidly as industry as a whole. It depends on our work, on a fundamental breakthrough in efficiency, when the rapid development pace spreads to the whole economy, when it enters a new, higher phase of acceleration.

The vital need to go over from extensive to intensive methods is a rule of the current stage in the building of socialism. In the past too, this will was often declared; however, with the increase in employment, raw materials and materials at that time, an increase in the national income and the standard of living was possible, although improvement in efficiency occurred very slowly. Today, when resources are shrinking, when we work shorter hours, when we are paying off our debts, efficiency is our economic sine qua non -- the fundamental condition for us to live better as a nation.

We have emerged from collapse, utilizing -- not even fully -- simple resources. We have hardly begun to tap the complex resources. This is a very difficult matter. Efficiency is not obtained for nothing. Those who give of themselves more effort, more discipline,

more initiative will forge ahead. Those who stand still must lose; they must come out poorly, in order for the whole of society to do better. Those are the realistic conditions of this kind of new social accord, which the party presents to the nation.

Acceleration is a means to the fuller meeting of society's needs. Much attention in the pregress discussion was paid to what to achieve and how. Various kinds of interests and postulates clashed in this field, in fact; those of different branches, plants and milieux. Summing up the results of this discussion, the party recognizes the most important things in the immediate years ahead to be: feeding the nation better; improving housing; modernizing education and expanding its material base; progressing in health and environmental protection; just division and consolidation of the principle to everyone according to the results of his work.

Comrades, conditions are being created to improve the feeding of the nation. The degree and pace of improvement depend upon progress in agriculture, in industries that serve agriculture, and in food processing. The party confirms the special importance of the whole food complex in the country's developmental strategy. A stable agricultural policy that has been adopted by the party together with the United Peasant party has been tested in practice and will be continued. That memorable slogan -- a green light for agriculture -- remains in force. There are more and more people to be fed every year, but the amount of arable land continues to decrease. Thus, the matter of better utilizing this national wealth is becoming acute. The enormous range of production results achieved in identical or similar conditions point out how vast the reserves are, and realizing these depends upon economic incentives, supplies of means of production, and above all, on improving the qualifications of farmers and on agrotechnological progress and the speeding up of land integration. The complete execution of these tasks calls for, apart from central support, social support including the backing of the party members in rural areas. The food industry is a bottleneck of the food economy. This causes great losses of agricultural products, particularly milk, potatoes, and fruit. People's councils and local administration bodies must more vigorously undertake to establish a network of storehouses, cold stores, and processing plants. Mature ventures will be supported by the state investment and credit policy. Thanks to the revolutionary changes achieved by the party, a historical act of socioeconomic liberation of the peasant has taken place. He received land and full civil dignity, and we are currently approaching a new stage of further progress in the countryside. By equipping the countryside with better means of production, machinery and household equipment progress is taking place, and the present is being liberated from the hardest drudgery. Our party's inalienable class obligation also concerns improving the conditions of access to education and culture, supporting farmers in their struggle to be freed from bureaucratic burden, cliques, and bribe-takers. Agriculture must be a strong link in the whole of the economy, as there will be no modern Poland without a modern countryside.

Consequently, the party favors family farms being productively efficient and culturally mature, and for them to achieve a higher level of productivity and social engagement, through organic ties with the whole socialist economy and through the development of rural self-government. The leading role in the creation of progressive organizational-productive solutions in the countryside must be played by strong, socialized farms; specifically, state farms and agricultural production cooperatives.

The lack of home ownership is a severe problem for thousands of Polish families. The National Socioeconomic Plan sets a considerable, nearly 20-percent increase in the number of homes to be built and also a 50-percent increase in modernizations. This will bring a certain improvement in the housing situation toward the end of the 5-year period, which will be a good starting point for a fundamental acceleration in the 1990s. However, progress has been a little too slow thus far. It is necessary to admit that we have not been sufficiently effective in solving this problem.

Discussions last rather too long, ideas chase ideas, prescriptions follow prescriptions and yet we are still building too few homes. It would, however, be a great simplification if the matter were reduced to subjective brakes. Home-building cannot be isolated from the whole economy, unfortunately. It cannot be separated from the level of national income, from the development of materials production, from the acquisition of land, and the exceptionally costly social infrastructure. These factors decisively influence the number of homes constructed. At the same time this does not absolve the situation in the building industry itself.

Numerous negative phenomena are manifested here: waste and idleness, low discipline and labor productivity, and simultaneous with all this, quickly rising earnings. For this reason, too, construction is expensive, even more expensive. The elimination of these sicknesses lies in the hands of the building industry workers. The profession of the building worker had an exceptionally high status in the initial years of Peoples' Poland. It was a model of tempo and diligence. This profession's ethos must be restored. This is exceptionally necessary for the country. The costs of a home are rather too high for the average family to afford, which makes the state's help essential. At the same time, we share the opinion of experts and the representatives of society that the principles of rendering this aid must be more variegated, according to the area, technical standard, and form of ownership. The proposals enunciated by PRON, trade unions, youth organizations, which seek a full use of the initiatives, energy, and enthusiasm of young people in particular, also deserve support. Those who want to purchase a home, whether individually or through a cooperative, or in the workplace, should be given help in every respect and not forced into positions of faithful expectation. The housing problem will be at the center of the party's attention. Fundamental, coordinating, and dynamic initiatives are being sketched out, which are patronized by the Housing Council, and personally directed by the premier.

The next priority, a great social and moral obligation, is to assure the conditions for a many-sided, physical and mental development for the exceptionally large number of young people. The needs are enormous. It is assumed that 3,500 new school buildings will be built each year during this 5-year period.

At the same time schools have to be constantly better equipped with modern educational equipment, including computers. More nurseries, sports and recreation establishments have to be built, and the holiday, sports and tourist base must be expanded. It will be easier to meet these tasks by merging state financial means with public ones. That is why the national deed of helping the school undertaken on the PRON initiative deserves wholehearted support and the widest dissemination.

The protection of health is one of the great tasks of social policy. Even in the recent most difficult period, we expanded its material base by commissioning for use more hospital beds than in any previous 5-year period. In the present 5-year period we shall commission even more. Also there will be considerable improvement in supply of medicines and medical equipment. At the same time a comprehensive approach is indispensable, as is consolidation of all links of health protection, prophylactic, medical care and rehabilitation. In particular what is extremely important is the improvement in health culture of the society. Still, there are sharp contrasts. In the age of heart transplants, the diseases of dirty hands remains. The most urgent tasks are the implementation of a program of mother and child care, care for the elderly and disabled, the combatting of civilization diseases, alcoholism, and drug addiction.

In recent years there has been an extensive discussion of the health service. Internal -- both material and personnel -- reserves were pointed out. Better use of the medical base, rational relocation of professional personnel, freeing doctors from bureaucratic burdens, care for the good name of this noble profession -- these are all matters of great social importance.

Wide and costly measures have been taken to prevent the degradation of the natural environment, which is a secondary consequence of the development of civilization. The 5-year plan raises outlays for this goal by almost 50 percent. Their share in the national income increases threefold in relation to 1980. This is a lot in this difficult time for the economy.

We all share the responsibility for the state of environment, for its present condition and the condition in which we shall leave it. Investments alone are not decisive, but also complete observance of the law, and everyday general respect for nature. I talked about it extensively during the recent preconference in Warsaw. The issue also has a wide international dimension. Poland expressed it at the United Nations General Assembly forum, by suggesting inter alia, the adoption of the principle of free flow of experience, licences and technologies in environmental protection. It would be conducive to more efficient counteracting of ecological threats to humanity.

Comrades delegates, there are no more clear indicators of the implementation of the principles of social justice than wages, their level and interrelations. The general level of wages, people's incomes, have to be strongly related to social labor productivity. The attempts to avoid this law, in the seventies and in the beginning of the eighties in particular, are well known. We feel their severe effects still today. The practice frequently abuses the principles of socialist distribution. In our country, there can be found high profits from low work effort and efficiency. Conversely, genuine effort and recognized achievements do not always ensure that ends can be made to meet. If a less productive worker, and at times even an idler and a waster, gets the same or a similar wage to that of a disciplined and efficient worker, then frequently the waster acquires more in practice than he produced, and this is deeply unfair. In essence, this constitutes a characteristic form of exploitation and outright parasitism.

Many completely unfounded, frequently glaring disproportions have grown out of the shaping of wages, their relation to professional groups and specialities. They often hurt those people bringing great advantages to society, people of high qualifications and recognized status. This arouses dissent. The so-called -- the method of so-called work evaluation should aid in creating the awareness of wage disparities. Its initiation is an important task of the economic administration and of the trade unions. The promoter of its dissemination should be the party. The guarantee of order in wages is not only an economic but also a social problem, a moral problem.

Workplace incentive systems are the way to creating order in wages in enterprises. The conditions have been created, possible, incidentally, only in socialism, for the workforce itself to construct the most appropriate principles of remuneration. A number of enterprises have taken this road -- for example, the Feniks works from Lodz which introduced new regulations, also achieved an increase in employment, a 44-percent increase in work productivity and an economically justified improvement in conditions. Unfortunately, thus far not everyone is making use of this opportunity. To this day, enterprises which, in total, employ around 40 percent of workers have not introduced this system. A number of enterprises, with the approval of passivity of ministries, have treated this operation as a way to the increases of wages without a real growth in results. In many cases, work norms have not been brought up to date, nor has this been done formally. Frequently, the inappropriate proportions are maintained or are corrected only to an insignificant degree. It is clear that it is easier to brandish a concept of justice than to consistently fulfill socialist principles at home. This demands a decided opposition to particularism and, in essence, the interests of those who work less well.

One must expect, and quite simply demand, such boldness from members of the party and from party organizations. Collective consumption is of great importance to socialism.

This is one of the fundamental conditions for equality of [word indistinct] in the most difficult years we have tried to defend them, among others at the expense of production investments. Nevertheless, considerable shortages and difficulties remain. The necessity to more strongly stimulate the motivation for work in present conditions justifies a somewhat higher dynamism of individual consumption. This does not mean that the level of collective consumption will be reduced. What is more, the resources allocated to spheres of particular social importance, such as education and the protection of health and natural environment, ought to increase more rapidly than before. It will be possible and necessary in the next stage to extend the scale of collective consumption and to enrich its form.

The equitable allocation of social services is a very important and sensitive matter. The origins of many of them go back to other times and to other conditions. They continue their existence thanks to inertia even though they have lost their meaning and have become an anachronism. In addition, certain legal ways of doing things make it easier to obtain services by cheating or by encouraging people to avail themselves of assistance instead of doing it themselves. In particular, instances of people abusing sickness benefits and various kinds of unjustified privileges meet with public criticism. This needs to be put in order. For obvious pieces of a fundamental nature the government ought to work out a comprehensive draft of changes. Following wide-ranging consultation, especially with the trade unions, the draft of such changes could be submitted at the second national conference of PZPR delegates.

The principle of less for those for whom benefits are of marginal importance and more for those who truly need them should chart the general direction of activity. In a nutshell, one should narrow the list of benefits in order to deepen and augment their effectiveness. War and labor veterans are the first ones to merit assistance. It is our moral obligation to ensure worthy conditions for those who have done so much for the country. The annual boosting of old-age and other pensions will halt the reduction of their real value, but the problem will not disappear with this. The elimination of the so-called old portfolio will be continued. The party is all for carrying this out as quickly as possible. Concern for the elderly cannot restrict itself solely to payments of money.

There are never enough efforts to ensure that our recent comrades in work not only are, but also have a feeling that they are respected and needed. The works have to ensure conditions of professional reactivation for those who want and can work. In addition, party organizations self-governments in housing districts, and youth and social organizations should derive benefits from the veterans' vast experience to a greater extent than before. Socialist social justice is, on the one hand, honest awards for work performed today or efforts during past professional activity, and on the other, the prevention of taking into possession the results of someone else's efforts. A considerable number of people in our country are of a bourgeois mentality -- greedy, fanciers of easy income cynically neglecting duties and public interests. They do not create goods, do not offer services, but are making their income on profiteering, money-dealing, pseudo-tourism, and theft of public property. These are alien bodies in socialism. They must not feel at ease in our country. Their dealings are and will be fought with increased severity. [applause]

We confirm the principles of a policy worked out together with the Democratic Party, which guarantees stable conditions to honest craftsmen who, in effect, are the allies of the working class. There are examples of getting rich beyond a socially acceptable extent in the private sector as well. In many cases it is the result of violating rules and various wheelings and dealings.

Such practices are and will continue to be punished. Also, other extensive and flagrant incomes in this sector have to be more effectively and efficiently controlled by, among others, the system of recording incomes, the taxation policy, and the adaptation of the employment level to the specific needs of particular industries and the kind of social needs they meet. However, it is indispensable that there exists stronger competition from medium and small state and cooperative enterprises. Their development requires acceleration. They do not have to be less effective and less flexible in activities; they can meet the needs of the moment. There are good examples of such competition and there should be still more.

Fairness in income would have been illusive and the improvement of living conditions impossible had the market been poor and unbalanced.

The present situation, while significantly better than a few years back, causes the public many severe difficulties and troubles. In the current 5-year period there will be an improvement in the supply of food and improvements in its range and quality. It is also necessary to balance the industrially manufactured staple goods market. Broadening the range and eliminating the situation where goods just appear in shops instead of always being available there depends on increasing production for the market, on changes in the structure of production, and on raising its standard. The development of the trade and services network and improvement of its operation should be accelerated. We appreciate the hard work of the trade employees, but it has to be organized better. This is a task not just for the central administration but first and foremost for local authority bodies -- that is, for party councillors and our comrades in self-governing bodies also.

Comrade delegates, national income, its level and rate of growth, determine how demand is met. That is the foundation. It is not possible to get around the dialectical relationship between creation and distribution. The reform is making this truth gradually gain public understanding. Its strengthening forms the essence of shaping the economic ethic in society, as there continues to exist specific asymmetry between the general knowledge and its application, especially in respect to self, and between pronouncements and practice. Everyone agrees with the general interdependences but logic falters at the moment of applying for social resources. Then every investment is justified, postulated pay rise deserved, imports indispensable, and subsidies necessary. Everybody supports the reform and calls for it to be done more quickly, but they most readily spur someone else in the flank. Demagogy frequently overcomes economic reason and even common sense. Separated from economic possibilities, pressure for corrections in distribution inevitably transforms into egoistic scooping towards self and increasing one's own share at any cost. But what of it, if the national income is less if it is greater as a percentage while in real terms being smaller.

For this happened at the beginning of the eighties. Hence, the close relationship between distribution and generation can never be underestimated. One ought to demand from government and executive bodies, but also help them. One should demand a clear concept, efficient organization, and correct decisions. One should help with respecting economic laws and efficiency and discipline.

The connection between abundance and efficiency is a rigorous and an unquestionable one. Its execution in practice is the basic function of the reform. However, it cannot be ensured solely by mechanisms and systems. It must also be present in the everyday practice of the party's work, in all areas of social life, in ideology, propaganda, science, and culture -- everything for this front, everything for intensification and efficiency! Its chief levers are the acceleration of scientific and technological development, structural changes, the elimination of waste, an improvement in the quality of production, and an extension of participation in the international division of labor.

A new, higher quality of economy depends to a decisive degree on scientific and technological progress. We share the opinion of the third congress of Polish science about the need to concentrate on frontline spheres such as microelectronics, computer sciences, comprehensive automation, material engineering, biotechnology, and atomic science. The party emphasized at the same time, the class motivation of scientific development. Mechanization, automation, robotization should also enter areas where conditions are particularly arduous and dangerous, including areas of hard physical labor.

There is no shortage of spheres in which Polish science and many representatives of it are the forefront of the world. We have great potential in scientific centers, in schools of higher education, and in the research and development base of industry. We also have an economy that calls, in many areas, for an outright and radical modernization. Hence, scientific and technological development should occur quickly, and in a way, naturally. However, this is not happening. Only recently some changes for the better have emerged. The crux of the matter is receptivity and the need of enterprises for innovations and organic integration between science and industry. Economic mechanisms and organizational solutions must serve this aim better than they have so far. Apart from other things, they should take into account an indispensable amount of risk connected with the undertaking of bold and innovative ventures.

The basis for a positive assessment of a man cannot just be that he has not done anything badly if he does not try to do something better; most depends on the engineering and technical cadres in enterprises, on the activeness of inventors and rationalizers. It is they who have made an outstanding contribution to Poland's economic advance and, in recent years, to overcoming the effects of the restrictions and import curtailments. We appeal to them from the 10th Congress platform to accelerate the modernization of our economy by creative activity. This is today a great, patriotic task; its implementation creates a particularly attractive opportunity for young people. Youth organizations should become the inspirers of a great social movement in support of the scientific-technical revolution. Inventions -- even the most valuable, unfortunately -- meet various fates.

Two years ago, the report that an original fiber optics technology with high utility parameters had been worked out at the Lublin Center for Optics and Telecommunications Technology received great publicity both in Poland and abroad. The achievement of the Lublin inventors did not, however, arouse the appropriate interest or support from potential producers and users. Time has passed and progress in mastering production is small. As has happened many times in Poland, the purchase of a license has begun to be considered. The obstacles piling up before inventors and inventions are a lively subject for public opinion. Alongside inefficient machinery, obstacles are created by a play-safe attitude and red tape, also by puffed-up pseudo-authorities blocking solutions that are not their own, or by taking the credit for someone else's achievements. Whatever the cause, the result is the same: irrecoverable losses, delays.

In the face of these facts, the party will not be indifferent to this particular kind of harmful activity. No rational idea or invention must be squandered. We will fulfill this obligation, for the doors of party committees will always be wide open to innovators, to the creators of technologies, to the precursors of progress. Party organizations and echelons will be their friendly protector and go-ahead promoter.

The situation in the exchange and popularization of all kinds of leading experiences is not good. We have in the country many superb, modern, and effectively functioning enterprises and outposts, many splendid organizational and technical solutions.

Guests from the whole world come to know them and they evaluate them highly; meanwhile, literally next door in the neighboring enterprise, parish, or town, nothing or almost nothing is known about them, or in any case, the idea is not taken up. An operational, wide popularization of the best experiences resting on knowledge of the matter is a party obligation, a grateful field for the work of our comrade scientists, engineers, and economists.

In the pregress discussion the need for the acceleration of structural changes in the economy was especially stressed. It was indicated that its structure is not modern, not very effective, and does not assure competitiveness in overseas markets. It is often felt that these changes should find expression only in a fast radical limitation of the production of the means of production for the first sector and an appropriate increase in the production of the means of consumption, sector two. Generally, that is correct, but currently our greatest difficulty rests on the fact that the branches producing the means of production do not supply the economy with sufficient quantities of modern machines and equipment, materials necessary for, inter alia, precisely the production of the means of consumption.

This then constitutes the fundamental limitation of development. Structural transformations must then have a deeper dimension than just the relations between the sectors of production. They can be carried out by the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the technological rebuilding of the economy, also by an increase in participation in the international division of labor. Fundamental structural changes cannot be introduced from day to day, but they cannot be deferred either. We must start with the means that we already possess, modernize existing potential, create the conditions for an accelerated development of the branches and enterprises that are already producing modern products, and decide about progress. Structural changes are not just a matter of decisions from above. The obligation of the center is the specification of the directions for transformations and adapting investment and credit policy to them. The task of enterprises is implementing changes in the profile of production, modernizing it, accelerating the process of renewing products, and adapting to the needs of the market and of export better.

Thus, this process is meant to harmoniously link up undertakings on both a macro and micro scale. They must all fulfill strict effectiveness criteria. One can manufacture (?well) and in a modern manner not only steel but also microprocessors. It is not only important what one manufactures, but, above all, at what cost and whether the article really is modern. The government -- with the coparticipation of the Supreme Technical Organization, and of other organizations and associations -- must urgently carry out a thorough examination -- a kind of certification -- of development programs, technologies, and goods from individual sectors from this point of view. One must eliminate everything from them that does not meet the criteria of modernity, including everything that does not ensure a decidedly lower consumption of materials and energy.

A true reserve lies in the better exploitation of machinery and equipment. Enterprises carry out barely half of the technologically required preservation work on an average. They are loath to spend money on the prevention of corrosion, which causes tremendous losses. It is necessary to expand the services repair base and the training of teams responsible for the running of machinery and equipment, and to tighten up on the nature and implementation of sanctions against persons not observing the regulations. Wasting resources is not an inconsiderable reserve, if one can put it this way at all; people point to ravaged railway wagons, to concrete spoiling in the rain, and to street lamps that remain lit during the day. There is also great wastage due to incorrect investment decisions, out-of-date projects, low-quality goods, the nonexploitation of production assets, and excessive employment.

It transpires that it is easier to put one's finger on those guilty of losses amounting to thousands [of zloties], but as regards millions, often big millions, responsibility goes to the wind and bureaucratic anonymity takes the place of people with precise names. An increasing quantity of low-quality goods is the same as acceleration, but in reverse gear. The poor quality of output causes huge losses. This is of particular significance in a situation in which some enterprises are not working at full steam as a result of material shortages. The social losses are not any smaller in size -- demoralization, getting used to the notion of botched work, and agreeing to do things any old way. The statute on quality is not functioning effectively, but it is not only a question of regulations. It is correctly stressed that concern for quality must be demanded at every work station. In this it is not only those -- who tolerate botched work who are guilty of defective output. The consistent application of financial sanctions; of price, taxation, and credit instruments; and the pointing out by name of those responsible must result in poor-quality output not being worth anyone's while.

The party makes it incumbent upon the government to act firmly in this matter. But in this matter, too, we must start with ourselves. The list of those producing defective goods cannot contain party members. The achievements of the work done by whole generations contained in the production assets store up great reserves. In many branches of the processing industry, machinery is exploited by barely one shift.

We cannot allow this, particularly in modern branches, where the maximal exploitation of potential is a condition for keeping up with progress in many spheres of the economy; the accessible source of labor for the next shift may be the transfer of workers from outdated and inefficient enterprises. This is possible particularly in great conglomerates. The state administration and party echelons should pave the way for these processes.

However, the fundamental issue is to make use of work time. In industry, around 1 and 1/2 days of work time in every week are lost for various reasons. So, there are reserves. Their exploitation cannot, however, take place in accordance with one pattern. Where cooperation is at fault, one works more effectively with instruments of agreements and economic mechanisms. Where regulations are violated, where there is terrible work organization and discipline, it must be implemented with full consistency. Incompetent and indulgent directors and all guilty parties must be made strictly liable.

A necessity and, simultaneously, a great opportunity, is the growth in export. The current situation is highly unsatisfactory. We play an exceptionally small part in world trade, one of the main barriers to our development. With the current systemic solutions -- even if they are not all perfect -- enterprises producing for export may achieve tangible advantages, greater resources for development and for wages. Despite this fact, a number of them, instead of making export efforts, are following well-trodden paths. The duty and, simply, the question of honor for worker collectives must be to guarantee that Polish products are competitive on foreign markets. This occurs, for example, at the Polkolor Works in Piaseczno. The proper development of color television picture tubes production has ensured the enterprise a strong position among exporters; foreign orders are even overtaking production capabilities. The growth in work productivity and, following this, in wages confirms to the work force that it is following the correct path. Securing new markets in conditions of ever intensifying competition and maintaining [one's position] in them demands many-sided, comprehensive activities calculated for the long term -- namely, proper state investment, credit, and licenses policy.

The rules of the game for exporters, established by the center, must be stable. The promotion of our export must be done not only by specialized organizations but also by the whole diplomatic service, by all those who participate in international contacts.

We are carrying out an extensive economic and scientific-technological reorientation in the direction of our natural, socialist partners. This demands keeping pace with transformations in technology and production being achieved in the USSR and other socialist countries. Cooperation within CEMA is, and will remain, the bastion of our foreign economic relations, the fundamental source of the advantages stemming from this.

This truth is eloquently confirmed by the experiences of the last years, when the fraternal help of the Soviet Union and also the good-natured attitude of the other countries of the community made it easier for us to overcome the severest difficulties.

Poland actively participates in the process of making efficient the mechanisms of socialist integration. The strong foundations of the deepening of cooperation within the bounds of CEMA constitute two-way, long-term programs reaching to the year 2000. This is an important collective achievement of the countries of our community. We are actively looking for the decisions contained in these programs to find a full reflection in concrete agreements and contracts in economic practice.

We stress with satisfaction the successful development of direct, working cooperation by Polish enterprises and scientific and research institutes with their equivalents in the CEMA countries. Cooperation with Soviet organizations is developing particularly intensively and fruitfully. The close links of enterprises, including the exchange of labor brigades -- especially of youth -- is a particular example of the introduction of the idea of internationalism into life.

Poland seeks the development of economic cooperation with all countries of the world on the basis of equality, partnership, and mutual benefit. We categorically declare ourselves in favor of the elimination of political pressure in the character of illegal restrictions, embargoes, and other discriminatory practices. Life, development, cannot be shut up in a cage of protectionist duties and other barriers. We regard as necessary in international economic relations the working out of and adherence to principles of economic security. We gave eloquent expression to this from the platform of the UN organization.

Our indebtedness is a very serious problem, especially in the capitalist countries. It arose as a result of a policy that was erroneous, both as to the scale of the credits drawn and, above all, as to the methods of their exploitation. We lived beyond our means. The then cheap meat today costs us very dear. An export potential that would enable a fast repayment of credits and awaken the economy to intensive development was not created on the basis of the credits. An important influence on the current level of indebtedness and also the possibilities of regulating our obligations came from the breakdown of the economy at the start of the 1980's, the significant increase in interest payments on the credits, and the restrictions placed on Poland. The losses that we suffered for these reasons constitute a sum equal to half our indebtedness.

This was the greatest economic blow ever dealt to any country in conditions of peace. At the same time, it was a case unique in history, where the creditor deliberately made it difficult for the debtor to pay off his debts. In recent years, we have gone from taking out credits to partially repaying them. However, as a result of the incomplete regulation of interest, the debt continues to grow. We face the dilemma of stopping this process at all costs or recognizing that the most important thing is to create conditions for the development of the economy, to agree to a limited increase in debt for a few more years.

The PPR Government has many times declared that Poland wants to respect its financial obligations, but paying off the credits cannot take place either at the expense of a drop in the standard of living in society or by halting development. The long-term interest of society is served only by such an approach. It does not conflict, either, with the well-conceived interest of our creditors. Of course, the fundamental solution of this problem can occur only by way of a decided increase in the export capabilities of our economy. Nobody will do our work for us here.

Comrade delegates, a fundamental condition for mobilizing all levers of efficiency is the economic reform -- undertaken on the party's initiative with the creative involvement of the Economic Reform Commission. In an extremely difficult situation it has contributed to a considerable extent to overcoming the crisis, to initiating developmental processes. It is defining the profile of the economy with ever greater clarity and also people's behavior in the work process. There are many enterprises and work forces that have understood and are putting the reform into practice in an absolutely model way. This is proof that its fundamental assumptions are correct, that it yields results, and that it is proving itself. Unfortunately, this does not occur everywhere. As a result, a breakthrough in efficiency has not occurred. There are many reasons that have contributed to this. We introduced the reform under conditions of a violent drop in production and a profoundly disturbed equilibrium.

For social reasons the economically justified price increases have not been introduced. In an imbalanced economy, the mechanisms to set wages and prices appear not to be efficient enough. They have made it possible for some enterprises to achieve favorable financial results without making a proper work contribution, reducing costs or implementing technological progress.

These weaknesses were made worse by giving in to the pressure of demand. All these, apart from objective factors such as even more expensive methods of obtaining raw materials, the surplus of import over export, and import price increases contribute to inflation that is still high. It has wide and destructive effects. It strikes particularly the weakest groups, many children, families, senior citizens, and retired people. This is the source of many social, and particularly, market troubles. Speculators are preying on inflation and those benefit who manipulate prices on goods and services produced by them.

A sharp struggle against inflation is in the best interest of the working class, all working people. A strong currency is a condition of a healthy economy and efficient functioning of economic reform mechanism. A weak currency means the weakening of motivation for work, the dissipation of social energy, and a rampant foreign currency cult. The zloty may only be strengthened as the result of comprehensive action. A draft of an appropriate program should be prepared by the Polish National Bank. However, most important of all in the struggle against inflation is the restoration of economic balance, linking wages to production, increasing market production, reducing costs, and putting price relations in order. Solving these problems and creating a balanced market for consumer goods and services is a priority of economic reform in the present 5-year period; this is the main substance of the second and decisive stage of the reform. The government will undertake necessary actions in this direction.

Competent groups and authoritative social forces generally support the radical acceleration of reform. We have to answer this question: What precisely is involved? Is it the increasing number of legal regulations? No. Sufficient regulations are now in force. Is it the speedier access of reform to working brigades and working posts? Surely, yes. Is it the dissemination of experiences of best enterprises, a general education about reform? Undoubtedly, yes.

It is very important that all enterprises benefit from the experiences and reform achievements of the best enterprises. But most of all, the issue is to be more consistently effective. This is the essence of the matter. This has been demanded by experts and a considerable part of the public. However, that means an extremely important and responsible choice must be made. That is, either we reach the balance more quickly while accepting consequences related to it -- a radical reduction of subsidies, the rationalization of prices, the strict observance of the self-financing principle, the strict regime of saving and labor discipline; receiving in exchange a good market, increased motivation to work, and therefore quicker growth in national income -- or, by not accepting these rigors we will live longer with the burden of market shortages, the producer's advantage over the consumer, a permanent threat of speculation, weakened work incentive and reduced prospects for rapid development.

So, should it be more difficult today so that it will be easier tomorrow? Or should we prefer to accept not only half-means but also partial results? No doubt, the congress will express its opinion on this matter.

The effectiveness of economic mechanisms and the pace of restoring equilibrium depend closely on the quality of central planning. Its role in formulating strategic goals for socioeconomic development, defining the pace and proportions of growth, and balancing the basic resources is obvious. At the same time, independence and self-financing of enterprises and their responsibility for results must be consolidated. This is inseparably connected with the consolidation of employee self-management. It is a host of an enterprise, as a part of the national property. The choice -- with or without self-management -- can only be answered unequivocally: with self-government.

It is the party's duty to take care of complete utilization of self-managing rights of the workforce and to support and aid their activity which is compatible with the reform combining interests of the employee collective and the whole of economy. It is an important task of the party organizations to take care of harmonious and creative cooperation among management, the employee council, and trade unions, as the specific composition of a socialist work enterprise.

The party was the initiator and promoter of reform. It will continue to outline the main directions for its improvement, control their implementation, and strengthen efficiency -- the factor that determines the country's future.

Comrade delegates, since the first postwar years, Poland has had a record birthrate in Europe. In 1946 we were less than 24 million. In 1986 there are 37 1/2 million of us. According to credible forecasts there will be 40 million in the mid-1990's. Since the beginning of this decade an average of 700,000 children have been born every year. This is an optimistic fact, but also a great duty and a great responsibility. It requires great means. During the period 1980-85 Poland's population increased by almost 2 million but employment in the socialized economy decreased by 325,000. One cannot count on its perceptible increase in the next few years. Such are the objective demographic trends. Many enterprises report workforce shortages. Some even say that this is a barrier that cannot be overcome. On the scale of the whole state, however, there are enough people. The problem is that they are utilized in an extravagant fashion.

The rationalization of employment is therefore essential: A fundamental streamlining of organization; the guaranteeing of the functionality of all structures of social life. There are workplaces and institutions where what two or three people are doing could be done by one person. Many units are duplicating the work of others. For example, in the Building Construction Plant in Stalowa Wola, with basically unchanged overall employment, the number of engineering and technical staff has dropped in 4 years by more than 20 percent. In the Building Construction Plant in Zielona Gora, overall employment dropped by almost 10 percent but office staff increased by 13 percent. We observe such phenomena not only in production plants. One can move many administrative and office staff to the front line, to serve the customer, in trade and services.

There is a sizeable number of full-time posts linked with no substantive activity in cooperative and social organizations, in scientific research establishments, in publishing houses, in editorial offices -- even in the theaters. Either subsidies or prices are increasing in the light of this, often both. As a result, the costs boomerang back on society in any case. True, Parkinson didn't concern himself with Poland's affairs, but it turns out that the laws he discovered operate strongly here too.

Organizational weaknesses, sometimes outright anomalies, also contribute to squandering the capital of human knowledge. It is estimated that one in every five engineers is doing work unconnected with his education. For example, in one of the coalfields, a metallurgical engineer is the inspector of sports facilities; someone with a degree in agriculture is the deputy director of a materials economy plant; and a musician is a mining machinery inspector. [laughter] In another plant, a Master of Arts is a senior economic inspector; a Master of Evangelical Theology is a senior organizational and legal inspector. There are considerably more examples of this kind in different branches of industry and ministerial departments. And a broader comment: Too many engineers are employed in supervising current production. Technology, which has already been mastered, often no longer requires their participation on such a broad scale. It is, however, essential to expand the machinery for preparing new technologies, products and solutions; that is, a staff which is thinking of the future.

One of the causes of the growth in levels and people in the hierarchical management ladder is a paresis of horizontal promotion. In order to reward somebody, raise their earnings or satisfy them men are promoted vertically. So far, in general, people are not asked what they have achieved but what office they have held. There is even the bitter saying that in order to be right, first you have to get a position. We have to reverse this. Frequently obsolete and nonfunctional structures, expanded beyond the real needs, cause quite a few good specialists to work below their professional and intellectual capacity. And if they are wasting their time and effort and getting into bureaucratic habits, that is frequently determined not by their predisposition but by organizational conditions which do not allow them to use fully their knowledge, intellect and energy, and to find creative satisfaction.

The Ninth Congress initiated a deep economic reform. The Central Committee proposes that the present congress initiate a general review -- a kind of x-ray -- of organizational structures and work posts throughout the state. [applause] This great, comprehensive undertaking should support the economic reform, reveal loopholes and shoals and release various brakes.

Good organization is also an essential condition for the efficient and fruitful introduction of new technologies and for raising the efficiency of management. This concerns:

First, completing the reform of the central level through finally adjusting its functions to the modified system of management and shaping the role and the structure of the ministries as executors of government policy in respect of particular areas. The process could culminate in passing an act on the Council of Ministers.

Second, optimalization of organizational solutions, depending on the technical and economic characteristics of particular branches of the economy. This especially concerns the problem of the so-called above-enterprise structures which have to be differentiated in a justified way and based on clear criteria of economic accounting and efficiency.

Third, rationalization of employment and correct deployment of forces inside enterprises and cooperatives, starting with management, through departments and teams, right down to the work stations.

Verification has already commenced in some enterprises. This has proved both useful and effective. The experiences of, among others, the Radom Radoskor indicate how much can be gained in this way. The ally of verification will be the team subcontracting organization of work, also called the team of partnership groups. Self-management teams constitute a constant pressure arising from the rank and file for improvement, for the growth of work discipline and as a result, also, the improvement of its results. For example, in the Hydrobudowa Slask Jeden engineering works enterprises, after the introduction of the principle of the signing of agreements between the enterprise directorship and teams formed voluntarily, work productivity rose by 50 percent and the project completion time was shortened by over 30 percent.

Partnership groups also aid in the humanization of work, in nurturing a feeling of collectivism, of worker comanagement and coresponsibility. This is a very good road for deepening the socialist character of production relations. We spoke of these matters at the 16th worker-plenum; and at the 23rd plenum, this was set as a task. Yet there are still few work teams. Experimentation is lasting a little too long. We were also sluggish in this matter in the Central Committee, in voivodship committees, in the government. We need more consistency in breaking down objective difficulties and above all, the subjective resistance accompanying this so very necessary process.

A no less important aim of the review would be organizational improvements; that is, organizational and functional improvements from top to bottom in the state administration bodies, in communal services, in trade and services, in education, culture, in health protection and also, the correct and economic situation of the personnel apparatus in public organizations, financed or assisted by the state budget.

We do not present ready-made solutions. They should be worked out during the review. But we already know today that some are understaffed and others are overstaffed. Thus, along with the removal of redundant structures, offices and posts, the need for the strengthening of others, for example in the services area, will no doubt manifest itself. The essence of the review is not mechanical cuts or apparent savings but the greater efficiency of the solution in force as regards the requirements of social life, the economic reform and scientific-technological progress.

If the congress approves the concept of a general review, all levels will be faced with an exceptionally difficult and complex task.

After all, this is an area of great social sensitivity. Resolution and a firm hand and at the same time tact, a discriminating approach and objective concern for all those to whom it is not only necessary to suggest, but also for whom it is necessary to ease, and sometimes to quite simply prepare the transfer to another position or to different work corresponding with their capabilities and qualifications, will be needed.

In these matters we are counting on the cooperation and assistance of self-managements and of the trade unions. Above all, the active participation of the milieux involved, openness of work and the freedom of discussion, and broad consultation, especially in the press, which will enable everyone to have his say and to put forward proposals, suggestions and initiatives will be needed, however. We appeal in particular to the leadership cadres to carry out honest self-assessment. This will without doubt reveal various spheres and areas where changes are necessary and will suggest appropriate solutions as well.

Success will depend on how consistently we, starting with the Politburo and departments of the Central Committee and ending with primary and section-based organizations, are able to influence the correct course and effectiveness of the review both at ministries and factories. In this matter we should start with ourselves, from the level of the Central Committee.

The appointment of an authoritative party and government commission on the pattern of the commission for matters of economic reform but having, however, the necessary decisionmaking and executive authority will be necessary to properly direct such an extensive and complicated undertaking. We are counting on appropriate participation in these activities by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, people's councils, workers' self-government, trade unions and also on the help of men and learning from the Polish Academy of Sciences, educational establishments and industry-related institutes. The involvement of the scientific society [as heard] organization and leadership of the Polish Economic Society, of the Supreme Technical Organization will be very helpful. Their representatives, above all, should enter the composition of the party and government commission.

Those enterprises and institutions which will carry out an authentic and not superficial attestation, or have already carried out one, will become valuable allies. There are, and will be available, both the materials and also the experiences and potential of the Supreme Chamber of Control and of the Workers-Peasants Inspectorate. We do not expect a lightning breakthrough or an immediate overcoming of the deformations which have been building up in layers over the years. A review of such an extensive scale will require persistent work.

Its results, the evaluation of the degree of the introduction of recommendations, the particular report on the organizational state of the state and the economy could be one of the key points of the deliberations of the second national delegates' conference.

Comrades, most management cadres, especially at higher levels, hold their functions on the recommendation of the party. This increases manifold our responsibility for cadre decisions. Correct ones give the party more trust; erroneous ones undermine its credibility. People's Poland has created new structures of management. The cadres functioning therein have brought in a priceless, truly historic contribution: socialist transformations, the advance of the country's civilization. In this process, they educated themselves, developed, matured.

There were also, however, errors. Some cadres had their heads turned by being leading powers. The leading role of the party in the state was sometimes conceived as a personal right to undertake arbitrary, voluntaristic decisions.

The weakening of the democratic mechanisms gave birth to arrogance and self-will. The time came to pay a painful political, and moral bill for this. Despite this, the predominant group of cadres passed the hard examination. They tempered themselves and grew strong.

Great changes also took place. At all levels, up to the leading functions in the party and state, there came many new people seeing their tasks anew. New does not automatically mean a person can work in a new fashion. The condemnation of rooted bad habits does not automatically mean they are overcome. The good do not just displace the bad. One can sometimes notice the appearance of new people but old practices.

The main principles of the PZPR cadres policy have been in force for nearly 3 years now. We evaluated their implementation at the 25th plenum. We supported the Politburo resolution passed in May. New principles indicate a comprehensive approach, to link the selection of cadres with their periodic assessment, their constant education, and rightful rotation, overcome the hermeticism of cadres policy, bring them out from offices in to the light of day, and attain social approval for the decisions undertaken.

Personnel policy is not just moving pieces on a chess board. It is a duty of the party to catch those that are best and push development especially of young, ideological, prospective personnel; that is to observe the principles of rewarding innovation, efficiency, and dynamic action. Subordinates are or become as their superiors. People with low qualifications are not going to advance those that are highly qualified, those afraid of risk will not attract those that are bold, those rooted in their habits will not promote innovators, and those devoid of ideals will not seek support in the ideologically-motivated. Therefore, the higher the post -- the higher consistently-observed demands.

We have several categories of managers. The first group is that of excellent professionals and efficient organizers situated in the right place. They are our guards -- those who are pulling the country forward. They should be firmly supported and their solutions and experiences disseminated. In particular we must strengthen the positions of managers. Of those, the most valuable are the ones who cooperate well with the party organization, employees' self-management and trade unions while not losing any of their exactingness and consistency. Their field of initiative, right to innovation, and sensible risk should be expanded. It is better to correct the impatient than to permanently prod the ossified, passive, and indolent. There should be no attitude of let nothing happen. The point is, above all, that as many good and new things as possible should happen.

The second personnel group consists of people who are frequently equally superb but who are not utilized to the maximum in their offices, are often undiscovered, blocked in, and working at only half their potential energy and strength. We should uncover these people promptly and efficiently, promote them and give them opportunities.

Finally, the third category of managers are the mediocre, sluggish, and lacking initiative. They should be moved without delay in accordance with their true capacities.

Such are the criteria and objectives of managerial review that should form an inseparable part of the verification. We count on the founding bodies, along with party organizations and self-managements, to formulate in the course of the review thorough and fair assessments. Managers, after all, are a particularly valuable command cadre of our economy.

Personnel reviews constitute a new quality -- practical achievement of the new personnel policy. They play a significant educational role. However, the evaluating teams are not infrequently characterized by softness and indulgence positive assessments are formulated in excess. Negative ones, and especially disqualifying ones, come with difficulty. Therefore, the reviews must be greater in depth, more thorough and more unequivocal in their conclusions. The selection of management personnel in the economy through competition has verified itself. Managers appointed in this manner in their decisive majority pass the test. It sometimes also happens that only one candidate enters, that the competition is sometimes resolved prior to its official start, and that own people, in an unjustified manner, are treated preferentially. Distortions of the idea of competition should be eliminated and the method itself spread to other walks of life -- that was the decision of the 25th plenum.

In the last few years many personnel powers have been transferred from higher to lower echelons, first and foremost to the basic party organizations. We emphasize once again: In the party, in the state, and in the economy no one has the right to reduce these powers. As for party members, the situation is perfectly clear: No one can take a leading post without a positive reference from their parent basic party organization which has also been consulted as widely as possible among respected nonparty members. The new powers of the basic party organizations mean both greater coparticipation and greater coresponsibility.

There can be no room for the assessment that he may not be a very good manager, but he makes up for this by being a good comrade. Only those who work conscientiously, manage effectively, and achieve good results can be said to really belong to us. Recommendations are given but can also be taken back. Everyone who has had one withdrawn has an obligation to the party to resign immediately from his post whether he works in the state administration, the economy or the cooperative movement. Nevertheless, each change must take place in a clean and cultured atmosphere. It will always be the case that not everyone will be up to the requirements and that not everyone will be able to cope with them as time passes. A change is sometimes a punishment, but more often than not it takes place during the natural course of things and is connected with a transfer to another position, retirement, state of health or personal reasons.

The manager Poland requires is one who combines knowledge, innovation and organizational and executive skills with a sound ideological attitude and high personal standards. There is no shortage of such people in Poland: They are in the party; they are also in the allied parties; and there are many of them who do not belong to any party. It is our task to resort to them on an increasingly broad scale and to promote the best ones. A nonparty person who is devoted to People's Poland must have every opportunity. We have nothing to fear from this. This will only serve to strengthen the party and Poland. Lenin wrote that, rising from the ranks of the mass of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, are many able and honest nonparty people with whom one must fill some of the more important positions in economic construction, while retaining for the Communists the right of necessary supervision and determining the direction.

On the other hand it is also necessary to have supervision by nonparty persons over Communists. This is a guideline the party should heed with firm consistency. [applause] [At 0915 GMT the congress takes a 30-minute recess, after which Jaruzelski resumes his speech]

Comrades, the socialist state is the widest plane of the collective existence of the Poles. It is a common work and common good -- the only real base for the sovereignty of our homeland. These truths in recent years have indeed assumed a burning topicality. The whole dramatic nature of the situation, numerous weaknesses and threats concerned the state most of all, directly and tangibly. We have defended our common home.

We have undertaken multifarious efforts in order to make it strong, modern and efficient. Only the law-abiding and democratic state can be a state that is really healthy and strong. A model of socialist democracy, which was particularly confirmed by the 17th plenum, has not been shaped once and forever. Recent years have brought plenty of new solutions. It is our desire, that these initiatives materialize, that they become a useful contribution to the international practice of building socialism. In the past it was declared many times that we all had to learn democracy. Today, indeed we all are learning it, though with different fervor and effect. This is not easy learning but gradually it brings results.

The PZPR's allied cooperation with the ZSL and the SD is characterized by political culture. In the hard test of recent years cooperation has materialized and hardened. There was a considerable increase of the role and authority of the Sejm, its legislative activities. The PZPR Parliamentary Club had its considerable share in that. Future development and the consolidation of functions of the socialist parliament now require the stepping up of efforts for widely understood control of the implementation of the laws, executing state discipline. There is nothing worse than the situation when legislation says one thing and life another. The competences of local elected bodies people's councils, and self-management of urban and rural inhabitants have been considerably expanded.

There are many good examples of using these rights and possibilities. But the created potential still has considerable reserves. A survey has shown that a majority of people's councils are using only part of their statutory rights. Now they should want to use all their statutory authority. Various bad experiences bore fruit here. These are the effects of formalism and paternalism, of which underestimating and directing people's councils and other bodies was the practice for many years.

It does not seem that this was only history in some cases. The authority of the councils is a value of state, system significance. The party should consolidate it consistently, taking particular care that the superior role, in relation to the administration, of representative organs, expressing itself, inter alia eloquently in the institution of the vote of acceptance of accounts [absolutorium] should be fully respected. Chief attention will be directed to the nearest rung of authority to the citizen: The People's Councils [RN] and administrative bodies at the basic level.

The concept of additional powers is taking shape, for those cells that have worked to deserve them by their initiatives and good management. In turn, Voivodship People's Councils [WRN] should be assured greater financial independence and a responsibility for the economy commensurate with it, especially for local industry, including for the much-desired construction of small industrial and service plants in rural areas.

The slogan: A self-governing republic was an anarcho-syndicalist, counterrevolutionary nonsense. The idea of local, worker, professional self-government is a great, vitally important norm of socialist democracy. Tenants' self-government has gained considerably wider potential to influence the solution of the problems troubling local communities. Its bodies -- estate and house committees, parish elder's councils -- are becoming the extended arm of the People's Councils. Together with the development of worker and cooperative self-government and other self-government institutions, this means the broadening, as never before, of the possibilities of developing social initiatives and the participation by citizens in cogovernment of practically all spheres of social, economic and cultural life.

Full and fruitful use of these possibilities creates the broadest plane and the best school for the functioning of socialist democracy. This goal is being achieved in practice in a fairly uneven process. Local party organizations, to which many experienced, socially sensitive comrades belong, should play a stimulating role in it more effectively than hitherto. Self-government does not in itself safeguard against autocracy. There are cases of its organs serving as a smoke-screen for lawlessness. Inter alia, this relates to some of the branches of the cooperative movement. We express ourselves in favor of a strong position for and permanent development of this movement, closely associated with the workers' tradition. With this aim, one of the important acts of the renewal was introduced, a wide-ranging, democratic cooperative law. Recent years show a clear growth in the cooperative movement, its serious, useful achievement.

We cannot not but notice deformations that also occur, cases of bureaucratization contrary to its purpose and essence, the deprivation of the members of certain cooperatives of a factual influence on their activity. Sometimes the cooperative law is applied so that the chairman is sated and the supervisory council gains.

The increase of the social factor role, action to counter the abuse of the independence of the cooperative, is a very important function of their self-management. This demands constant support from the party organizations and cells. One of the valuable sides to our situation is constituted by the very widely developed [words indistinct], circles, and clubs. They tie in to the best Polish traditions, social activistic passion, and group work.

Conditions are maturing for particular associations to acquire wider rights, among others taking on or supplementing certain tasks fulfilled previously by the administration. So, for instance, the League for the Preservation of Wildlife [LOP] could possibly act as a side in cases involving environmental pollution; or Consumers' Federation could have further rights in quality control. In socialist democracy, the strength of workers' participation, voice, and influence on all social processes has a fundamental significance. It was not a case of coincidence that the recent political conflict flowed to the surface of life in the costume of a union and so the greater significance to the development and systematic growth of class trade unions. The party is and will remain faithful to the principle expressed in 1982.

The trade union movement cannot and will not be either an extension of the administration or an antisocialist political grouping. The new unions must be independent and fully self-managing. A strong, authentic trade union movement is imperative to the working class, to working people, and to Poland. A partner who openly tells the truth, who criticizes, who even protests -- but also protects the state's interests -- who is concerned about increasing the national income, and who takes on the burden of coresponsibility for unpopular decisions when they prove to be necessary suits the socialist authorities. We will cherish the ideological-political unity of the trade union movement like the apple of our eye. Its division is to put working people at odds with each other, to manipulate them under the guise of defending their interests. We expect party members active within the trade unions to set an example of active and effective trade union work. The duty of party echelons and organizations is to seek the opinion of the professional movement, to take its views into account, and to strengthen the position and prestige of this most popular organization [pol-najbardziej] masowa organizacja] of the Polish working world.

Diverse possibilities for participation in public life are created by consultations, by their universal and public character; this is the seeking of opinions and discussion, social education, and the shaping of attitudes and opinions.

Behavior must ensure that every participant in the consultations is convinced that -- even when he finds that the decisions do not reflect his opinions -- he has not wasted his time, he has not been neglected, and he is needed. Opinions that are not accepted do not remain without influence because they are visible signals. Of course, it is not possible to debate every matter endlessly. What is important is not, after all, for the bodies of the state authorities to avail themselves of consultations to find in them an alibi against responsibility. Consultation should be an element encompassing all of society in the decision-making process, a characteristic form of self-control of the specialist factors. The ideal of consultation and its extensive application constitutes a valuable achievement of the socialist renewal. It is necessary that, strengthened by the popular legislative solution, it should take deep and permanent root in our political system. This concern for the permanent influence of social opinion on the activities of the bodies of authority was a duty placed on us by a resolution of the Ninth Congress. It is served by soundings of public opinion conducted by specialized centers.

With this idea in mind, a public opinion poll center has been founded. Some voivodship party committees have set up their own teams to conduct research and make analyses. Together with the centers already in existence, a whole scientifically shaped system has been established. A valuable source of information has been added on citizens opinions, assessments, and feelings. It is a duty of party and state authorities to learn about the better and better utilization of the new, extensive possibilities this research provides.

Now, having introduced in recent years abundant, political and institutional instruments of socialist democracy, it is most important to implement what has been discussed, coordinated, and decided. We need both more democracy in collective thinking while reaching decisions and more consistency in implementing discipline.

In order for such a policy to succeed, direct contacts of representatives of authorities with society are of serious significance. Recently, the readiness for open and direct talks with the work force, with various social milieu, and simply with the working people seems to have weakened. For this, genuine discussions, including the ones disseminated by mass media, and a polemic is unceasingly needed. We successfully went to meet it halfway in a situation incomparably more difficult. Consequently, we should return to these experiences even more today. One must talk to the people, patiently explain, or even argue, but be among the people, act among them, as well as listen to them time and again.

The Central Committee estimates that conditions are now ripe for the further development and enrichment of instruments for socialist democracy. First, before the coming elections to the people's councils and the Sejm, we should analyze on the basis of the experience so far, the possibility of further extension of the democratism of the electoral law. Second, to strengthen the protection of citizen rights [spoleczny rzecznik praw obywatelskich] proposed by the PRON, appointed by the people's councils and cooperating with the prosecution offices. Third, along the lines of positive experience of the Sejm socioeconomic council, the purposefulness of appointing an identical body at the voivodship people's councils should be considered. The socialist renewal finds wide-ranging reflection in the changes of the structures of our state organization and the legal system. In this process relevant constitutional amendments will be needed. If it is possible to achieve this following relevant research in 1991 on the 200th anniversary of the historic 3 May, it would be very good.

Comrade delegates, the law in Poland expresses and protects the interests of the working class, the working people, and the socialist state; it ensures the social order and equality of citizens.

That is why the rule of the law has to be treated with utmost seriousness and must always constitute the object of the special care of the party. Law-making and its application must correspond to the principles of rationality, democratism, and socialist justice equal to all with no exceptions. There must be nobody beyond control, evaluation, and criticism. The law and the rule of the law are the mainstay of the Republic. Our legal system has been modified in depth in the recent past.

The setting up of the Constitutional Tribunal and the State Tribunal was of great significance, as was the strengthening of the Supreme Administrative Court; the restoration to its due place and strengthening of the quality of work of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]; the setting up of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Observance of the Law, Public Order and Social Discipline; and the strengthening of the Prosecutor's Office control over decisions by state organs. The usefulness of the amendments made in many spheres of the law is being proved worthwhile in practice and in its adaptation to today's requirements. Socialist law and order is obtaining increasingly broad, social and civic support. Social workers, people's assessors, court guardians, members of People's Militia Volunteer Reserve [ORMO], deserve special recognition. The Worker-Peasant Inspectorate [IRCH] is functioning effectively. The working class has obtained, thanks to it, a new sharp weapon. Previous experience dictates: Behave with respect and recognition toward the activities of the IRCH, to the comrades who devote their effort to it -- extend their powers and view the assessments and proposals presented seriously.

The Central Committee thinks it essential to strengthen the authority of the organs of administration of justice and of prosecution and also to improve the legal system. The goal is a stable law, undergoing only absolutely essential, fully mature changes. At present, the surplus of regulations in force is to be eliminated. The lack of cohesion of acts of an executive nature with some acts with the rank of statutes must be overcome and that of regulations from the period of the reform with regulations of the mandatory-allocative system. This is a simplification of the highly bureaucratized, excessively complicated and burdensome procedures of settling citizens' affairs.

All institutions and their activities serving law and order must fulfil the supreme goal: To strengthen the observance of constitutional principles of the system of government; to guarantee the unity of rights and obligations; to work in the service of the state and the citizen, both being able, always, to get their due rights. The construction of socialist law and order would be brittle without a general knowledge of the law. With this intention, a program of legal and civic education of society has been drawn up. Various forms of educational, training, and preventive activity have begun.

This should significantly contribute to an increase in legal awareness and ethics. These issues are being introduced to a wider extent in party training. Law abiding activity by state bodies is of decisive significance. This activity builds up credibility and creates patterns of social behavior. Adherence to this principle must be resolutely demanded from all links of state authorities and all distortions from it must be fought against with full strictness. The party is concerned about the authority of administration. It also has its share in the socialist renewal. Significant structural and organizational changes have been made in the state administration. They should contribute to the higher and higher efficiency of offices and institutions.

Fighting against bad habits and eliminating formalism and sluggishness in dealing with citizens' matters is the inalienable duty of party echelons and the basic party organizations in institutions and offices at all levels.

The Polish Army has its beautiful pages in the history of our homeland as a cocreator and defender of achievements of the people's state, its independence and the inviolability of its frontiers. The traditions and the present day of the Armed Forces are filled with the service for the nation. Under the ideological leadership of the party they perform their defensive duty. At the same time, they participate actively in the economic life, cocreate scientific and technological development and educate and train highly qualified cadres. The trust of the nation is a priceless value to a soldier. This has found its proper confirmation in the very responsible fulfillment of the tasks of martial law and in the fulfillment of the historical duty to save the country. Our Armed Forces and their devoted staff, as well as all soldiers deserve words of cordial appreciation. [applause]

The Civic Militia and the Security Service officers have properly performed and are conscientiously performing the duty of defending the socialist state. The Central Committee has highly assessed their devoted, difficult and responsible service. It also expressed the conviction that the Ministry of Internal Affairs will continue to perform its duties conscientiously, guarding state security, abiding by the law, guarding public order and effectively guarding citizens' peace. The party has initiated the stepping up of the struggle for the purity of social relations and for the full respect of law. A wide front of legal pressure, as well as of preventive, educational and up-bringing actions against crime, deviations, including above all, drunkenness, as well as antisocial behavior that prevents people to live normally, is being established.

These issues have recently found full reflection in the Sejm debate and resolution. Intensified combatting of pathology is already bringing about noticeable effects. There will be no light treatment in these cases. The party counts on rigorous actions of the responsible institutions and on the assistance and support of the working class, the opinion-shaping circles and the men of science and culture. We should continue to march along this road, consistently and resolutely.

Comrades, for the Marxist-Leninist party there is no more important case than the trust of the working class, credibility and authority in the eyes of the working people. This, above all other things, has been under the attack of the enemy, aware that the bond of the party with the masses is the decisive and sensitive point of our political system. Here too, we encountered particularly painful losses. The sociopsychological effects of the errors made have accumulated and the difficulties of everyday life also cast a shadow. The patiently and consistently implemented line of the accord and struggle does bring, however, expected results. This is proven by the course and results of the elections to the people's councils and the Sejm and this is also confirmed by the research of the public opinion. The most significant thing is, however, the practice, the active participation of the masses in the daily work, in the social activity, for the sake of the realistic socialist Poland. The evolution of moods and views and behavior is taking place gradually, but in the right direction. This is, however, a complex process determined not only by general factors but also by differences in climates in different milieus. Frequently it is decided on by individual situations, even accidental events. Hesitation and disappointment, lack of trust and passiveness -- these are often transitory states from the already perishing internal emigration to the various forms of participation. It is impossible to win them all, but it is necessary and possible to win the overwhelming majority.

Every gained person means a victory for us. A man who has been pushed away is a mistake. Without the conviction that people can change one cannot be a communist. The concrete state of the social consciousness is a reality, and one must not turn one's back on reality, one must transform it actively and wisely. The authentic transformations of human attitudes and views are hundreds of times more precious than the appearance of the unity proclaimed too much.

During early years of the people's authority, in conditions of deep divisions, and with the threat of them consolidating the then far-seeing policy of the PZPR paved the way for people of various outlooks to join the side of socialism. In retrospect this policy can be assessed much better, both the costs of sectarian departures from this policy, and its permanent favorable results.

During the dramatic test of recent years, on the side of the people's authority and socialism there were thousands of former soldiers of the Home Army [AK], Polish formations that fought in the West, representatives of the prewar intelligentsia, and even members of political parties which were then on the opposite side of the class barricade. The permanence of the state, the good of the Polish PR they considered to be the highest value.

The appraisals carried out by the party of complex phenomena and contradicting trends that characterized the former Solidarity movement appeared to be correct. Millions of people placed in the movement their hopes for realization of the slogan -- socialism, yes, distortions no -- for the success of renewal. At the same time it was the stepping stone and the milieu for actions of a multitude of antisocialist gamblers of the old and new generation, leaders and fanatics of counterrevolution, and also various renegades, including those miraculously converted. In one movement, the 21st plenum stated, there was at the same time a potential for socialist renewal, and a potential for antisocialist destruction. The retrograde and adventurist trend which prevailed in the leading bodies of Solidarity and in its rapidly growing apparatus could not be a line for the working class, and the way for the majority of participants in the movement. The extremists suffered defeat because they lost public support, they alienated themselves from the masses. Practice confirms that to the fullest extent: People divided yesterday, today act in unity.

The vast majority of former Solidarity members are active participants in public life. They are in the party, in allied parties, in the Sejm and People's Council and in the reborn trade union movement. They are also present in this hall as delegates to the 10th Congress. The line of accord is not an occasional declaration, not an idea for difficult moments, not a hasty tactical maneuver. This is the continuation of the best experiences of our party. We implement it and we continue to do so with full conviction and consequence.

We are not struggling for power. The power is, and remains socialist. We are tolerant toward views and opinions that are even incorrect and unjust. These can always be corrected and explained. Nobody here is or will be victimized for his convictions. Today, the struggle is on for Poland's future, for whether it will be possible to make up the delays and to prevent the threat of permanent lagging behind, to regain our place in the world, to meet the challenges of the present time.

As a result of this, we cannot, and we shall not, be lenient toward activities harmful to Poland. What did the opposition advocate? Work at a snail's pace, the approval of restrictions, yielding to and steering clear of revanchism, the popularization of internal and external emigration, instilling, particularly in young people, a feeling of hopelessness and pessimism, the paralysis of social activity; in other words, speaking in overall terms, a pernicious philosophy of the worse it gets, the better.

The underground and its various political supporters [kontrahent] were no longer grieving souls and aesthetes fascinated by pure democracy, or inexperienced people led astray. More often than not, they were a political agency in the service of people from outside who inspired and supplied it. Today, both the harmful nature and hopelessness of acting in this way, are becoming increasingly obvious.

Having defined as broadly as possible the area of accord, we should thus observe all the more emphatically its inviolable principles and its impassable limits. The accord is not the agreement of everyone in everything with everyone. [sentence as heard]

At the present stage of the construction of socialism in Poland there also exist antagonistic contradictions. A barricade separates the exponents of contradictory interests and socialist and antisocialist, proworker and antiworker and progressive and reactionary attitudes. At the same time, differentiation between people striving sincerely toward accord is an objective fact. We acknowledge their identity; we do not blur their differences; we do not simplify the divisions. The thing is that these contradictions should not violate the framework of the constitutional order that is based on our political system and the Polish *raison d'etat*. Even important divergences can be neutralized through convergence in primary matters. Through the willingness to act together for the success of the sole Polish state -- the Polish People's Republic. [applause]

Accord is a dialectic process which, while altering the situation is in turn subject to the effects of this situation.

The 10th Congress of our party opens up its qualitatively new stage. The program the party presents maps out a historic opportunity for Poland, irrespective of what divided us and still divides us. Responsibility for the program's implementation is shared by the entire nation. Satisfaction over its results will also be common to us all.

In years gone by political accord was pushed to the forefront. Socioeconomic cooperation and accord as regards good work, good management and large-scale tidying up in our homeland are now of particular importance. The PRON builds and extends the platform of accord. Its roots can be traced back to civic committees of national salvation. During the most difficult moments, they provided an example of patriotic boldness and responsibility. Under the policy declaration of the PRON, there are signatures of the party, the allied parties, associations of secular Catholics and Christians. A total of 163 social, trade union, youth and women's organizations as well as various creative associations and unions, denominational organizations and national minority communities have joined. More than 1 million socially-aware people are active in the PRON. The majority do not belong to any party. From this hall we convey to all of them expressions of respect and acknowledgement. [applause]

The election campaign to the people's councils and to the Sejm showed just how many complaints there are and how many problems still have to be solved. At the same time it confirmed just how considerable the reserves are that can often be mobilized even without additional outlay. We are for the PRON patronizing the process of activities which make everyday life easier and for it having a real influence on the activities of both the organs of power and also of citizens. It is with this in mind that the initiative of setting up at the Council of State, with the active participation of the PRON National Council, a social consultative council and its corresponding organs in the form of civic convents at voivodship people's councils has to be examined.

We also favor the PRON expanding the platform for asking questions and for expressing various opinions and doubts. The question may arise as to whether this is the creation of a kind of opposition. Such opposition to neglect, incompetence, bureaucratic nonsenses and to shortcomings in the state, social and economic mechanism is necessary for Poland. The party ought to be that opposition's driving force, stand at its fore and stimulate and organize it. Creative criticism is a valuable asset. Critical people are useful, if sometimes difficult partners in a dialogue, but they are our potential allies. They must be concentrated in organizations and supported. Not everyone who finds fault with us is against us and not everyone who praises us is with us. Conviction about our own infallibility is the worst adviser. When hearing a critical opinion it is the easiest thing in the world to say it is not true. We know from the past that there were lots of instances when rejected and sometimes even censured proposals and views turned out to be correct after some time.

The opponent is saying that our nation is disenchanted with socialism. This is not true. The decided majority of Polish society is, in its feelings and aspirations, in favor of our systemic aims. It is not necessary to agitate in favor of social justice, the quality of chances, social security, free education, and health care in Poland. The universal condemnation of greedy enrichment of living at someone else's expense witnesses that which is normal in capitalism, which constitutes the source of recognition and prestige, calls forth protests here. Thinking and speech in a socialist language decidedly prevails, though many are not always conscious of this. When they criticize various faults, when they get offended at the waste of the national good, when they want to influence what happens in their own work place or milieux, then that is not disenchantment with socialism, but the other way around. It is dissatisfaction when there is not enough of it, when deviations arise from its ideals. In this sense, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have entered the national blood circulation, and socialist values and norms have become an undetachable component of social consciousness. This is our victory. [applause]

In recent years, humanitarian decisions were undertaken several times in relation to the perpetrators of certain crimes. With respect to the decided majority, these decisions were correct. They helped regain people who were lost and confused and straighten their life paths. The situation in the country today is characterized by the spread of accord, strengthening public order, and also continuing disintegration and social isolation of antistate groups. This creates the basis for the amelioration of legal measures against those who have carried out certain crimes. We received with attention the latest PRON initiative. The Central Committee judges that it may be possible to create one more chance to return to normal life the perpetrators of specified categories of crime against the interests of the state. Of course, adherence to the constitutional legal order will be demanded from them. In relation to the perpetrators of common crimes, the amelioration of legal rigors could include above all, women raising children, the minors, and the perpetrators of inadvertent crimes. It should not, however, relate to recidivists, persons who have committed atrocities, committed crimes while drunk, or those who are parasites.

Comrade delegates, the complexity and significance of the problems of mutual relations between socialism and Catholicism in Poland were already foreseen by Julian Marchlewski and other eminent activists of the Polish workers' movement. The creators of the PZPR were fully aware of it.

Both worker parties, the whole camp of people's democracy, came out in favor of loyal cooperation by Marxists, Catholics and those professing other religions, from the dawn of the new statehood. This found expression in the July manifesto.

It was at the foundations of the state's religious policy. The choice made at that time was a creative realistic response to one of the most important questions about our country's future: how to bring about socialism -- a system based on ideological and theoretical premises of dialectical and historical materialism -- in a society where the majority is Catholic? We favor a lasting continuation of that line in the future as well. This is expressed in the draft program. The implementation of the constitutional principles of separation of church and state; of freedom to fulfill religious functions by churches and religious associations; of freedom of conscience and belief; of equal rights and obligations of citizens regardless of their attitude to religion -- this is the great humanitarian and lasting achievement of People's Poland. The church is conservative by nature. It adapts itself to a changing world with considerable delay. How often humanity has forged ahead, making progressive transformations, in the face of the church's doctrine! By the same token, the definition and introduction into practice of solutions appropriate in Polish conditions has not been, nor could it be, an easy process without conflict. It did not occur without mistakes on the part of the authorities too but was above all a consequence of the burden of a past in which the church took the side of the moneyed classes. They also wanted to retain their previously occupied place. Before September [1939], Poland has not carried out many reforms typical of the great majority of European states doing away with feudal relics. Toward the end of the classic Soviet film, "The Man With the Rifle," the hero, an illiterate peasant, crossed himself and went to fight the Whites. There were millions of examples of a similar kind in Poland too: at the front, in defense of the people's authorities; during the agricultural reform; on the scaffolding of huge building-sites, up to the recent, hectic time in which the great majority of believers came out on the side of socialism.

If someone finds in religion a motivation for a worthy civic attitude, he is a valuable partner for us. We welcome with satisfaction the growing participation by Catholic associations and those of lay Christians in the country's public life; and by their representatives in the organs of authority. We watch with recognition the activity of those churches and religious associations that shape among their believers attitudes of respect for work, public property and for the state and the laws in force in it. They are finding the correct way to inscribe themselves constructively into the socialist reality. The majority of the Catholic clergy also fulfill their pastoral service in accordance with the laws of the socialist state. Those among them who, by their civic involvement and real participation in the efforts to benefit our fatherland, make a valuable contribution to a positive shaping of church-state relations, deserve particular respect.

This process is, however, coming up against various difficulties. The antisocialist clericalism articulated by some priests casts a shadow on the relations between state and church. It gives rise to calculations by anti-Polish forces on clashes, on conflicts between us. It harms Poland as a result. The fact that the expression of their beliefs by the spokesmen for various world outlooks is accompanied by discussion, polemic and dispute is natural. They should, however, take place on a level worthy of the end of the 20th century, without epithets, incantations and exorcisms. The party comes out unchangingly in favor of a good pattern of relations between the state and all religious beliefs. There is a sometimes difficult but -- and this is very important -- uninterrupted dialogue in progress with the Roman Catholic Church. Poland needs constructive cooperation between state and church. It could express itself particularly in joint undertakings to promote peace; in condemnation of the activation of revisionist forces; in increased concern for the natural environment and for protection of cultural monuments; in efforts to maintain the patriotic link between Poles living abroad (Polonia) and the motherland.

We should also look for possibilities for broad cooperation in combatting social pathology in the struggle for the nation's moral health. Religiousness, however, very often does not go hand in hand. Unfortunately, with an everyday attitude, with social morality. Not without the influence of church doctrine have we been beating for years now the European records for the birth rate. In this situation, efforts toward shaping a work ethic and civic responsibility and concern for increasing the national wealth and for guaranteeing the material conditions for family life should not be left to the state alone. We therefore support expanding cooperation and, at the same time, reducing the sphere of differences and misunderstandings. We respect the church's identity and its status. At the same time, we expect and shall require respect for the Constitution and the legislation of the Polish People's Republic and for the *raison d'etat* of the socialist state. [applause] The Central Committee hopes that the 10th Congress will confirm this line.

Comrades, so that man may live better; that is, putting it in the briefest possible way, the objective of socialist development. But what does this better mean? We would not be Marxists if we were to ignore the material side of the standard of living. Raising it is the chief task of the party's socioeconomic policy. But the objective would be a poor one and the conception lame if living better were to mean exclusively the material side. There is also the question of social justice, equality of rights and opportunities and conditions for starting out in life, of a worthy, creative and colorful life. Cooperation with other people, a sense of belonging to a team, strength of ideological and moral motivations, striving to know more, understanding in greater depth, and working more actively are fundamental characteristics of the socialist way of life. These very values determine the great role of culture in Poland's socialist development. We interpret it broadly -- as a fundamental enrichment of humanist motivation, as an essential component of working and living in a community, of word and custom, of creating, nurturing and disseminating works of human talent, imagination and sensitivity. Great historic progress has taken place in every field of culture in socialist Poland. It has been a factor in the advancement of the popular masses and in the changes in civilization in the country. The most valuable works of mind and creativity have become daily visitors to Polish homes. That is an indisputable fact.

But it is not the achievements that we most want to discuss today but disparities, and, at times, contrasts and the most urgent tasks. Negligence that had already made itself felt previously was compounded equally by ideological and moral, psychological and material effects of the crisis. The phenomena of frustration and confusion appeared. A gulf opened between needs and resources. Things even got to the point of closing down some clubs and cultural facilities in the countryside.

We are not passive in the face of these phenomena. The Ninth Congress proclaimed new principles were specified for social decisions about the shape of cultural life. Special recognition is due to the National Council for the Arts [NRK], set up 3 years ago, for the large number of initiatives and also for the effectiveness of integration activities. Among these are the recently produced report on the state of culture and also the prominent participation in preparing the program for its development.

It is vital that economic activists should show more understanding for the needs of culture, and people of culture more concern for understanding the hierarchy of needs. We are against boredom, and we favor good, mass entertainment and a varied means of spending free time. Resources must be found for especially important and urgent needs such as books, television, cinematography, audio equipment, and in the longer term video technology, but there must also be a greater responsibility in the disposition of money.

It must not be wasted on books and periodicals packed with graphs, or millions spent with a light hand on misconceived films when the number of cinemas is decreasing.

The Central Committee regards as a question of great weight the increase of the influence of works of high artistry on artistic tastes and likes, on life and interpersonal relations, on slowing down of the tide of literary garbage, kitsch, and ugliness. For instance, the weakness of transmission between eminent attainments in the plastic arts, applied art, the decorative arts and industrial production causes the aestheticism of products to play rather too small a role as an economic and cultural value. It is time to reactivate an industrial design council to treat resolutions in this matter seriously. We have the highest attainments in music, famous composers, and players, but on an everyday basis one lacks words for the neglect of music teaching in schools -- the invasion of deafening decibels is an example of disproportion. We have an excellent school of linguistics, great literature translated into many languages, and at the same time a colloquial language poisoned by stiff jargon, saturated by freak words and vulgarisms, offending by its poverty. The protection of the Polish language is not a matter of one action, but of lasting efforts by Polish teachers, schools, artistic institutions, mass media.

Among people connected with culture one generally does not appreciate the often nameless ranks of its activists, the role of work organizers in clubs and community centers, of librarians and booksellers, and finally, of enthusiasts who devote themselves to amateur art and popularize their own collections. Their effort calls for sympathetic attention. We emphasize the importance of the amateur artistic movement and social cultural movement, which create a wave of authenticity and the original color of the national culture. It is obvious that for its development, those who create artistic values are invaluable: writers, composers, artists and film and theater people. We want them to be with us. We want to help to overcome various grudges, mistakes and complications. Objective criteria are and will be in force: the value of a work of art, not the subjective ones -- past twists in the political biography. We have given much way to the opponent in the area of culture. To regain it faster, it is not enough to use great words. By repeating the word socialism culture does not become socialist. The question of how, with the help of culture, to advertise socialism is not relevant, but rather how, thanks to it, to create socialism, and, more actively implement it, experience it and make it more attractive; and participate in processes of spiritual, intellectual and moral development. The issue is that works of art and culture should be beautiful, esthetic and valuable, that they should enrich life and help the people to live. Culture in our history was usually a source of inspiration that brought Poles together around great goals. It paved the way for ideas of progress, and in the long and stormy period of the homeland's enslavement, it fostered patriotism.

Its leading social currents mobilized the generations around the idea of democracy and justice, won minds and hearts for the workers' cause, made a priceless contribution in the building of the socialist homeland. Such are the natural preferences of our cultural policy, and the criteria of actions by socialist patronage. The purpose of culture is to bring people closer together. Its peace mission enlivens international relations and cooperation in all domains. Society and the young generation in particular have to be wisely prepared for that. We are open to receiving from other nations anything that can enrich us intellectually and spiritually. But there can be no free entry for corrupting influences. All those complex issues cannot be solved by administrative methods, the more so in the situation of open circulation of information. A ban on what is harmful can simply make forbidden fruit attractive.

What can be done, to inure people to a contraband of this kind. Let there be a joint answer to this question by party and youth organizations, cultural institutions, and upbringing. We attach particular importance to expanding the presence of Polish culture in life of societies of socialist countries, and the culture of those countries in life of Polish society. With friends our art has the greatest auditorium, it is presented in full and most favorably. We reciprocate that and will continue do so on even broader levels.

Comrade delegates, the scientific and technological revolution and civilization changes, the young age of society and a high birth-rate create great educational challenge for Poland. The recent 24th Central Committee Plenum specified how to meet the challenge. The unquestionable educational achievements of the past 40-year period were compared with the post-crisis situation landscape, with the nature of present and future needs. This is the mission of education to play an advancement role. The direction of activities determines an answer for a basic question: What should a graduate of a Polish school be like? The system of national education from preparatory stages to higher schools, work of teachers and all allies of the schools must prepare for life and work in socialist Poland at the turn of 20th and 21st century. We talked about serious material difficulties for the schools. Ideological and upbringing activity requires a clear improvement. But there are also other occurrences in secondary and higher education in particular which cause concern. It concerns serious differences of social composition of pupils and students to the disadvantage of the children of workers and peasants.

Regional and communal limitations in access to education are also maintained. The party treats the duty of leveling the conditions of the educational start with the utmost gravity. This will be served, among other things, by the introduction of universal secondary general and equivalent education as a longterm precept.

Two approaches present themselves, it appears, in the discussions. Some emphasize the necessity of finding, leading and promoting particularly talented youth. Others emphasize the overcoming of inequalities of opportunity. The correct road is the skillful reconciliation of both. It is difficult to predict where talent will be born. It may just as easily be within the child of a worker as in that of an intellectual. The bard once said: Cursed be the people who murder their own prophets. Today, he would say: Cursed be the states that lose their own talents. A capital of talent is a particularly valuable asset. Our duty is to overcome the barriers blocking the road to studies for all those who are hard working and talented. I repeat: The Polish school must be elevated to the rank of the highest national institution, making this ideal a symbol of the party's particular concern, also because the forces and resources designated for education and for the quality and advancement of education are the most effective investments.

To meet contemporary needs, the school should teach people how to teach themselves for the whole of their lives. Permanent training is a condition of the realization of knowledge, which is devalued by the speedy progress of science and technology.

We must welcome people wishing to deepen their professional knowledge and receive additional education, and also workers who are rationalisers but also workers involved in the humanities. Thus, the initiative of setting up an association of workers' universities merits support. A concept of an open university, which has the chance of becoming an important echelon in the system of adult education, has also been worked out.

Thoughts about children and young people send us off in the direction of the family, the smallest but most important cell of the national organism. I order that respect for Polish mothers be expressed. It is precisely they who bear the main burden of a family's everyday worries, and at the same time they constitute the front line for the cordial work of bringing up children and young people. An improvement in the conditions of everyday life and the elimination of shortages in the market and services sector and of various everyday life inconveniences means above all saving time for mothers and wives, in other words practical steps making upbringing easier. All activities in this direction undertaken by the Polish women's movement ought to be actively supported by the party.

The lofty prestige of the school means above all the lofty prestige of teachers. The party greatly values this profession. It deserves high social acknowledgement. The shortage of cadres is a fundamental problem. We must train as many teachers as possible at the level of higher education establishments. At the same time we must set in motion a sufficient number of post secondary education courses that are organizationally connected with establishments of higher pedagogic training and which open up the way for an academic diploma.

Poland can be proud of a widely developed and multidirectional system of higher education. It has made an exceptionally valuable contribution to the socialist development of the country. It has trained numerous cadres of high-qualified experts. The future places particular demands on higher education establishments. At the 19th and then at the 24th plenary sessions, the Central Committee mapped out directions ensuring socialist upbringing content and the proper rhythm of honest work. Unity regarding the process of research, teaching and upbringing and its high scientific and social effectiveness are compulsory principles for higher education establishments. The directions and programs of studies require that they are adapted closely to the development needs of the country. In particular, effective training for front-ranking spheres connected with scientific-technical spheres is necessary. The matter requires comprehensive examination. During the drawing up of a long-term plan for the country's socioeconomic development, the appropriate body of planners and of representatives of science and practical subjects ought to embark on drawing up a forecast of cadre requirements that is as accurate as possible at least up to the year 2000.

There was a time when there was a key slogan: "Poland is a country of people who study." At the present time this slogan has not lost its topicality. To the phrase, people who study, one should just add, with application. One must not resign oneself to the fact that a great many students do not finish their studies within the time allowed; that as many as 70 percent receive during their exams only the grade of adequate; this is not a private matter: for it is not a matter of indifference to society what measure of knowledge the graduate brings with him when starting professional work, and what use he makes of such socially-costly time. The socialist higher education establishments should prepare and produce ideological citizens, highly qualified experts, people who have wide horizons, who have inquiring minds, who are ambitious and creative, whose passion for innovations has been stirred. The party wishes to share the care for this with all academic teachers.

At the end of the 20th century there is a stronger confirmation than ever before for the Marxist thesis that education is a many-sided element of creative forces, currently the most important source of progress and development. The educational policies have been improved upon. The Central Committee has paid much attention to the situation in social sciences, to the expansion of their role in the solving of political and social problems that exist at present, to the renewal and strengthening of the position of Marxism-Leninism.

The creation of a committee for science and technological progress provides new possibilities for the integration of the research efforts of the Polish Academy of Sciences, of higher education establishments, of educational centers which work directly for the national economy. Funds for research and development work have been greatly increased. The achievements of the third congress of Polish science are significant. Our party supports the full implementation of its decisions; it will watch over the development of science, over the insuring that its results have important social applications.

In 1946 the eminent and scholarly professor Jozef Chalasiniski wrote: In the history of Poland there has not perhaps been another such moment which would, to the extent that the present time does, demand from the Polish nation such an intellectual effort and such a moral character. The Polish intelligentsia finds itself, without a doubt, at a turning point of its history. It faces a historic call which places before her new and great tasks, the scale and type of which we are at present still unable to assess.

These words sound as if they had been written today.

Comrade delegations, the leadership of the party is the principle of principles of our system. It is not a usurpation. It stems from unshakeable, historic and class, ideological and moral bases. It is the party that inherits the best traditions of the Polish workers movement. It is the party that has written itself into the glorious pages of the struggle for national and social liberation. It is the party that, for the good of the majority of the nation, led the revolution that gave the peasants land, that nationalized factories, that ensured that millions prospered [zapewnila awans], and that there was a general access to education and culture that made possible the work of renewal and the industrialization of the country. It is the party that organizes the working class to enable it to fulfill its historic mission of building and defending socialism. The party is, at the same time, its spokesman in its alliance with the peasants and the intelligentsia -- the spokesman of the ideal of national accord. It is the party, the force of the Polish left, that is the mouthpiece of the ideal of patriotism and internationalism, the guard of the Polish *raison d'etat*, the credible guarantee of the independence and the inviolability of the frontiers of our country, of long-lasting and secure alliances -- thanks to which, for the first time in 1000 years, we live in friendly neighborliness. It is the party that had sufficient ideological and moral strength and courage to disclose and overcome mistakes and distortions; to give, in practice; and to speak the whole truth, not to promise to be anything it could not be. It is the party that worked out a realistic program that drew a far-reaching vision of Poland's development, and that confirms in deeds its capability to lead in its implementation.

History teaches us life. The most important thing is that its students should be capable of making use of the whole complexity and richness of past experiences. We return in our thoughts to previous congresses, beginning with the congress during which, in December 1948, the creation of the organic unity of the working class movement came about. All these congresses have become part of history in different ways. How they worked out in practice, how far their resolutions turned out to be correct was decided by the Marxist-Leninist quality of the analysis in the context of the true state of affairs, by the value of their decisions and their conformability to the needs of the time. The majority were congresses whose gaze was fixed on the truth of life with their attention concentrated on the opinions and strivings of working people sounding in unison with the mature needs of development, realistic and far-seeing. But there were congresses which deliberated with muffled signals, cut off from the growing problems, with a partial paralysis of critical perception and innovative courage.

In this way there arose the subjective causes of social conflicts which interrupted and held back Poland's socialist development. The report on the work of the PZPR Central Committee Commission, set up to explain the reasons and the course of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland, tabled at the 12th Plenum, talks about this. The lessons of these must never be forgotten.

The point here is not infallibility, being totally and inalienably right. The party fulfills its role when it avoids mistakes and admits to those which occur, to set them right. The attitude to criticism is an everyday, practical measure of the party's credibility and standing. What hurts people must hurt the party. This is the fundamental condition of society's confidence in us. We have learned this diligently in recent years. Operating in every milieu of working people, the party puts the role and aspirations of the working class in the forefront. Still today, a section of workers is not convinced that its voice is carefully listened to. It is our duty to do everything to make them feel like full comanagers of their factory and country. The increased share of workers in the party's composition, the increase in its workers' activeness, criticism, and influence on decisions is a matter of the greatest importance.

In the past term of office, a new quality was born. The workers together with the peasants for the first time formed the majority in the Central Committee. They broadly reinforced its commissions, they came into the Politburo. They are on various consultative and advisory bodies. In the whole party, the scope and authenticity of the worker participation in the authorities, in the *aktywizacja*, in the system of management has turned out and turns out in various ways. Let us remember this when we elect the central authorities and also in the course of the approaching accountability and election campaign.

Everything that happens in Poland affects young people. Everything that affects young people is of particular significance to us.

Every idea and political movement has the right of historical existence insofar as it is able to guarantee continuity between generations. We support that which the youth are born with, and, at the same time, the most valuable: the receptiveness of the mind, energy, innovative predispositions, opposition to that which undermines the unity of words and deeds, and what does not correspond to the spirit of the age. Confirming to their fullest extent the principles accepted at the Ninth Congress and the ninth plenum, we expect from the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Rural Youth Union, the Polish University Students Union and the Polish Scout Union an independent and not schematic activity coordinated with the aims and directions of activity of the party.

The course of the pre-congress campaign showed that the slogan of the seventh plenum, The same party, but not the same [*partia ta sama, ale nie taka sama*], is not a situational decoration, but a programmatic and directional directive that is being introduced into life. The same means: Marxist-Leninist, strictly tied to the working class, deeply grown into the Polish, patriotic-progressive tradition. And not the same: registering like a barometer the changing times, marking out the new boundaries of aims and tasks, setting itself against manifestations of torpor and stagnation, rejecting both bureaucratic centralism and pseudodemocratic anarchization, and so making real democratic centralism, understood in the Leninist way -- linking collegiality with individual responsibility for the tasks one is charged with.

One can direct and lead successfully only when one has a feeling of service with respect to the working class -- people of work and the nation. The role of the party does not become real automatically. It must constantly be confirmed; verified by the attitude of society to the programs and practice of the party, to the attitudes of party members. Without social approval it is possible, in the end, to manage, but it is not possible to successfully lead. At the same time, listening to a variety of opinions, taking them into account, the party must make a choice: support and implement that which is correct; reject and fight that which does not objectively serve the interests of working people. One must not be afraid of unpopular matters. To be in favor of something is at the same time to be against something. Cutting ourselves off from liquidatory, opportunistic conceptions of abdicating from the influence of the party on the functioning of the state and economy, we at the same time oppose tendencies to put it in the role of a superadministration, displacing and replicating the administration. If one does not see in it a live social movement and mainly a hierarchized structure, an organizational machinery, an office for affairs, one loses sight of the whole measure of being in the party. The party is a human community, a voluntary union of people who have one aim and acknowledge one road to it, who have chosen membership in the party as a conception for life, and who give part of themselves to the party and enrich themselves with the party.

The past, especially hard period has created a clearer than ever division between aktiv and the rest. It was unavoidable to work precisely so, through aktiv groups [as heard]. It has verified itself and hardened. Therefore it is tempting to continue working in this manner. The rest will, however, become more and more of a remnant if the parent organization ceases to be the main of activists' political work. A most important task is to strengthen the basic party organizations. Their voice, from those at factories to those at ministries, must be heard aloud. If it is supported with the views of nonparty members, it should count double. The strength of the party is its basic party organizations. More and more basic party organizations are active organizations, gaining support of the community. There are also, however, quite a few of those that function feebly and do not fully implement party resolutions. The task set at the 20th plenum -- to focus attention especially on the weaker organizations -- remains fully topical. Responsiveness toward the basic party organizations should be the leitmotiv of the postcongress conferences, a directive for the whole term of office. The newly-elected Central Committee ought to be obliged to devote one of its early plenary sessions to issues of the basic organizations.

Comrades, the PZPR now numbers 2.126 million members and candidate members. It remains a mass party and is active in all sociovocational milieus in towns and in the countryside. Recent years will certainly be remembered as a period of raising the criteria for party membership. The demands were raised by reality itself -- the political struggle, the need to take up very difficult and often unpopular tasks. Those that did not want to or could not cope with these demands crumbled away from our ranks. We also raised these criteria ourselves, willingly, as experience has taught us what a burden for the party are chance, tottering and cowardly people. A year ago we closed a long and painful period of numerical reduction in party ranks. Their renewed expansion has begun. There is no more sensitive test of party credibility than the natural influx of people wanting to cast their lot with it.

The party wants to recruit new members, particularly workers and young people, but never again for the sake of statistical results, never those who look for a shortcut to a career. We do not need titular members. Speaking briefly, the issue is to become a real party of Polish Communists. [applause]

On a margin of some letter Lenin wrote with anger: "What party has this man really joined -- a communist or a ruling one?" This warning is constantly up to date. There are quite a few believers in our party ranks. They have proved, and every day prove, their devotion to socialism. The party as a whole is guided by historical and dialectic materialism, recognizes and disseminates the scientific world outlook and in this spirit it influences its members and shapes their convictions.

There is much to be done here. Universal talks with individual members conducted as a part of the congress campaign have confirmed great advantages of this method of party work. In order to strengthen the characteristics of the party in dialogue with the people, the Central Committee suggests conducting them [talks with individual members] twice in the coming term in office: Before the national conference of delegates and before the 11th Congress.

In the past 5-year period our aktiv went through an extremely difficult test. It has experienced, thought over, and understood much. It has made an enormous ideological and moral effort. It has proven that we do not agree with returning to the old and the compromised -- during the course of life -- practices. However, we are aware that such a danger does not diminish with the passing of time. To some comrades, coming out of a bend to a straight road means a return to the old ruts. Socialism has many enemies. However, those who talk about socialism much and do everything to the contrary do an equivalent amount of harm. Sluggishness, when human problems are concerned, doing things for effect, pomp, prestigious boasting instead of modesty; showing off when one should be listening, giving orders when one should persuade -- these are practices that, unfortunately, also occur today. Real authority is achieved not by those who shout, "Forward comrades," but by those who say "Comrades, follow me!"

We are not used to looking at the party from the point of view of modern sciences on organization and management. But in addition, in our activity time-consuming methods are used -- habits of improvisation and working hard sporadically to meet targets [kampanijnosc], and an excess of the meeting and conference style. There is no issue on which we have no concept as to the course of action. During the national conference of delegates and at meetings of the Central Committee and the Politburo we examined, in fact, all areas of reality. Numerous programs, resolutions and decisions were adopted. We started this in an exceptionally difficult situation. It required numerous meetings and influenced the quantity and size of resolutions, but thanks to it we have managed to create a full list of issues which have to be resolved, we have programmed and tooled party work. Now, we will deal with fewer problems, and reach deeper, and what is most important, systematically and consistently implement resolutions and decisions. This is our weakest side.

We present the Central Committee report for the 10th Congress. It is critical, it does not spare various structures and acts from sharp assessments, and bitter words. But it does not mean that we have **been directing** our critical look only downward; on the contrary, we understand that the higher the branch and post, the higher the responsibility. If in some area things are not what they should be, this means that at the central level there was not enough energy, determination and forethought, and time ran out, or the reach was too short. In order that the party operates effectively, the entire leadership must work even more efficiently.

Defining the rhythm of Politburo meetings and voivodship committee executives, the Central Committee proposes to adopt a principle that once a month, on days earmarked for

these meetings, members of central and voivodship party leadership should be under obligation go out and participate in meetings of the basic party organizations, meet workforces, members of the party, and non-party people. This will permit regular on-the-spot assessments of the situation, what the working people think, how they assess us, and what they expect.

During the past term of office a system was created for members of the central and voivodship party authorities, and political workers of the apparatus to belong to basic, and mainly workers party organizations. This brings party cadres closer to the realities of life, consolidates the bond with the first line. This should be continued and extended.

Comrades, recent years have appeared to be severe, and very instructive for the school of Marxism-Leninism. We have begun to make good the damage wrought by many years of neglect in theory, regardless of the fact that it was a result of ignorance or an expression of narrow practicality.

The creation of the Academy of Social Sciences has set up in Poland a strong center of Marxist-Leninist thought research, of influence on the whole milieu of social sciences and of training highly-qualified party cadres. The expansion of the network of intervoivodship and voivodship schools and raising their standard also strengthens the party's ideological work. Favorable changes are taking place in party training. Its basic purpose is familiarity with the understanding of scientific socialism. The practice of organizing ideological-theoretical conferences should be continued. They shape a creative approach to theory, which -- as Marx and Engels stressed -- is not a closed doctrine and a collection of ready-made dogmas but the foundation, the starting point for further research and the methods of conducting it.

The point is not for theory always to say yes to corrupt decisions or to justify them after the fact. The party simply needs Marxist thinking and preparation for party cadres that would make them capable of using theory in everyday activity, of analyzing the basis of changes taking place, of drawing conclusions and predicting the development of events. The longterm work on the party program became a test of the capabilities of using Marxist-Leninist theory in the complex conditions of contemporary Poland. The draft turned out to be the basis of and inspiration for a broad discussion, fruitful in proposals. It became the source of ideological, economic and state-legal education and at the same time a great poll of party and social thinking. The broad participation of nonparty people in the discussion also deserves to be stressed. The 10th Congress is therefore their forum as well. The draft we have brought differs considerably from the previous one. This is proof that the discussion was genuine and that it brought an abundant yield. Almost 1 million people are coauthors of the program. It is known by many millions. This gives hope that, when it is approved, it will not go into the files, but will become a material force.

Never in the course of the 40 years of the PPR has so much been done for the openness of public life as in recent years. We have made a decided break from the practice of only passing on good news to the public and keeping the bad news to oneself. The more widely the citizen is informed, the more quickly he finds out about events, the more confidence he has in us and the better for the party and the country.

Openness does not, of course, signify going along with deceit, of retreating in the face of false opinions. This, then, at the same time, is the field of ideological battle -- discussion, polemics, supporting opinions, and also, the correction and exposure of mistaken, false and subversive information.

What is important is for the strength of our ideology, of our arguments, to always triumph -- the strength of the truth.

Our congress and the adoption of the program will raise the crossbar for the whole of our ideological and propaganda work. Most important is that we should not allow the thoughts and ideals we advocate to be viewed indifferently. The right and correct word is not enough. What is important is for it to reach the consciousness, to arouse the creative working of the mind, to convince, to widen horizons. The quality of the subject and the forms of propaganda are verified by its social reception. Most valuable is a wide response, the type of dialogue with which the journalist finds many interlocutors. He should also listen and study with full attention to what they have to say -- the shaping of moods, attitudes, and convictions is, above all, to participate in the circulation of ideas, not to steer clear of matters, and to take life as it is, in all its complexity, as a basis.

In its concern for improving the conditions of the press, of the preparation of television and radio programs, of access of journalists to more information, the party expects bold, ample reasoning and greater responsibility for the accuracy and effectiveness of their words. The mission of editorial boards, party organizations, of the whole of patriotic, progressive Polish journalism is for the press, radio and television to inform honestly, educate effectively and struggle actively.

Comrades, there are values which have the greatest significance for all Poles -- the independence and sovereignty of the homeland, has territorial integrity, security and peace. This is consistently served by our state's foreign policy outlined by the party. The last few years have particularly demonstrated the relation between the internal situation in our country and its influence on the balance of forces in Europe.

An undermined and weakened Poland would pose a potential threat for equilibrium on our continent, but a developing, stable and strong Poland is one of the essential links of international security and peace. The inviolable union and friendship with the Soviet Union is a cornerstone of foreign policy. This is an historical achievement of our nations. The past has registered various pages in its annals. The fates of the Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians and Lithuanians have sometimes been joined in a tragic knot. These chapters of history have been closed once and for all. This is the historical contribution of our parties -- the PZPR and the CPSU. [applause]

Socialism has opened up new horizons before us. Friendship and trust are gaining in strength, having been consolidated by the identity of peaceful aspirations, by the achievements of all-around cooperation and by the assistance granted to us in the most difficult moments. The socialist system has sunk firm roots in the world. The countries of real socialism constitute its core. Each one has accumulated many positive experiences and has contributed its own achievements to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. There has not been a shortage of mistakes and defeats, either. However, the historical achievements are huge and unshakeable. We are harmonizing our national interests and aims. We are combining unity and variety more and more effectively and joint socialist aims with the concrete conditions for achieving them. The present stage in the development of our community creates an historic opportunity for accelerating its march into the future and for achieving new boundaries.

However, the times are hard. The adventure-seeking stage of imperialism is having a negative effect on all spheres relating to East-West relations.

Imperialism is striving to turn back the revolutionary transformations in the world and to strangle progressive and national liberation forces and to block the processes of accelerating the development of socialism. It is banking on the economic exhaustion of our countries and on the gaining of military superiority. These calculations will come to nothing. One can harm socialism temporarily but one cannot defeat it. It defended itself when death, misery and starvation were staring the pioneers of the October Revolution in the eyes. It survived when interventionists and aggressors left scorched earth behind them. It is well known how the criminal assault of fascist Germany on the Soviet Union, the 45th anniversary of which was marked just a few days ago, ended.

Socialism survived nuclear blackmail, blockades, restrictions, and provocations. In the coming period it will continue to defend itself, consolidate, and will go forward. [applause]

It is true that capitalism has created modern and energetic productive forces, efficient organization of production and high productivity. By using ruthless economic coercion it developed human enterprise, and inculcated habits of respect for work. The wealth of the richest countries of the West, however, has been created first of all by the toil of exploited masses, by blood and sweat of robbed and enslaved nations. It is known where colonialism, fascism, racism, and apartheid has its origins.

The social ills of contemporary capitalism are very serious as well -- the plague of unemployment especially among youth, recurring illiteracy, symptoms of degeneration of mass culture, the cult of violence. In this respect capitalism is non-reformable. Some of our compatriots, the young in particular, are sometimes fascinated by the West and the standard of living there. They do not see that the areas of wealth and prosperity are next to examples of extreme poverty, exploitation, and crying injustice. A real picture of life in the West is significantly illustrated by the behavior of those who would like to earn money there, but here have free education, medical care, get cheap meals, and rest peacefully, preferably at work and joke about.

It is the matter of supreme importance for all nations for the whole human civilization to remove the threat of nuclear annihilation. Soviet peace initiatives and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's personal involvement are consistently going in this direction. [applause] This is the far-seeing brave, wise, and honest policy. We give it our full and active support. [applause] It confirms its rightness because it brings moral victory to our idea, pushes imperialism onto the political defensive, uncovers the real intentions of confrontation and militaristic course of Washington, which blocks efforts to end the arms race. In the contemporary world full of dangers, the authentic striving after consolidation of peace is a moral and political proof -- a certificate of policy for every government. We support peaceful coexistence of states of different political systems. In a preliminary draft party program a statement of utmost importance is included, that great issues of contemporary times cannot be solved individually by any formation.

Capitalism no longer, and socialism not yet -- although its possibilities are constantly growing. So, not only the instinct for self-preservation but the awareness of the need for rational cooperation is today the dictate for behavior. Comrades! In 3 years will be the 50th anniversary of the most terrible war in the history of mankind. The memory of it, so vivid in our nation, is for all people a constant source of reflection. Lasting peace is for the nations of Europe the supreme value. In conditions of detente, they derive advantages from the geographical and cultural proximity, from the complementary nature of their economies. In conditions of growing tensions, serious losses on a historical scale result.

The civilization and economic entity shaped over the centuries has broken apart. This turns Europe into a disintegrating continent. It still faces its great opportunity, however, of ensuring lasting peace with a simultaneous retaining of its own identity. Both parts of Europe -- Western and Eastern -- bear the burden of unprecedented armaments. They should therefore make an equally great effort to halt them. Poland was one of the most involved propagators and coorganizers of the historic conference on security and cooperation. The CSCE Final Act, taking as its starting point the inviolability of the political and territorial order, opened up wide prospects for pan-European activity. Unfortunately, the balance of the Helsinki process is not, after 11 years, what it could and should be.

Recent years have, in particular, brought a serious regress in this respect. It is high time for all partners to return to an interpretation and implementation of the decisions of the Final Act which would serve true progress in the sphere of detente and mutually beneficial cooperation. The approaching meeting of representatives of the CSCE participating states in Vienna creates a good opportunity for this. Poland intends to present at that forum a proposal for a conference of CSCE experts with the aim of discussing ways to overcome existing barriers in the development of East-West economic relations, particularly in the scientific-technical sphere. To improve the atmosphere and consolidate the premises of detente in Europe, lowering the ceiling of military confrontation is of great significance. A new, real opportunity for this was brought by the deliberations of the recent session of the political advisory committee of the Warsaw Pact in Budapest. The stance adopted, and particularly the message to the NATO states and all European states, containing a comprehensive program of serious reduction in conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, are facts of supreme importance. The Polish People's Republic, which has a considerable potential of conventional armed forces at its disposal, is prepared to take an active part in negotiations and make a suitable contribution to all-around agreements on practical, balanced disarmament undertakings.

Our country is open to all constructive initiatives that would serve European-wide cooperation on the basis of respecting the Helsinki Final Act. This also relates to bilateral relations. The past has brought us many bitter experiences in this field. The litmus test of the real intentions of the capitalist partners became the sudden change in the attitude of the West to our country. When Poland was living on credit, and harmful deformations were accumulating in socioeconomic life, praise and compliments were not skimped on, an intensive dialogue was in train. Indeed, there was talk of model relations. When we started to live on our own account, introduce reforms, tidy up the economy, enrich socialist democracy, these same circles, often the same people, only have calumny, ostracism and restrictions for us. The main states of the West tried to haul Poland through the accused's bench for a few years. An unprecedented propaganda aggression increased in strength. This illegal, brutal attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of our country became one of the contemporary manifestations of the cold war. Poland turned out to be more resistant than was judged. She shook off the crisis, she is rebuilding lost positions. We judge the conclusions from the Polish lesson will not be treated by the West with scorn. It should now be clear to everyone we will never accept alien dictate, and the hopes for the temporary nature of socialism in our country are simply naive. [applause]

Poland's national interest is irretrievably linked to detente, to dialogue. We are traditionally open to the world. We will increase our participation in the international division of labor. We will cooperate with every reliable partner who respects our sovereignty. The essence of Poland's foreign policy is above all the seeking and making use of points where things are contiguous -- that which unites, and not that which divides.

Our relations with neutral and nonaligned states and with the majority of West European states are developing in the right direction. The preconditions have arisen for the full normalization of contacts and cooperation with other Western countries, too. Relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Vatican are shaping up positively. Concerted support for the great cause of peace, the importance of which is raised so often by John Paul II, helps this along. We hope that this also will support the dialogue the state authorities are conducting with the Roman Catholic church in the country. We attach considerable importance to the correct development of relations with the FRG. We are watching carefully the realistic stances of certain of its political and economic circles. We welcome them warm-heartedly and with recognition. However, a second revanchist undercurrent pulsates there, and increases from time to time. Under the influence of our difficulties, attempts have been revised to undermine Poland's vital interests. The advocates of these concepts should remember the lesson of history. Their predecessors declared Poland was a seasonal [short-lived] state, but it was precisely the 1000-year reich which turned out to be seasonal. [applause]

Our experience shows very well it is the Soviet Union that is vitally interested in the strength and security of Poland, and its friendly relations with the GDR. But, the United States is putting its money on the FRG as its number one ally within the North Atlantic pact framework. Washington's policy also constitutes support and encouragement for all those forces, above all for the revisionist circles in the FRG, which want to undermine the peaceful Yalta-Potsdam politico-territorial order. At the same time, this is a calculation to exploit the U.S. locomotive to pull along the Greater German wagon [wielkoniemiecki] too. The FRG continues to have before it an historical option: either the continuation of revisionist illusions or finally coming to terms with the inviolability of European realities. In the former case, Poland will always place obstacles everywhere. In the latter case, it offers goodwill and cooperation, for we are of the opinion that there are no fundamental obstacles in the way of the Polish People's Republic, which enjoys the full confidence of its socialist allies and neighbors, the USSR, the GDR, the CSSR, the FRG, a strong NATO link, establishing between themselves good and lasting relations and undertaking joint initiatives designed to strengthen the peace and security of Europe.

The state of Polish-U.S. relations is a particular issue. The causes of the present situation are generally known: Washington has become an inspirer and main realizer of decisions and steps which harm Poland. It is difficult to expect that the impasse, which has been set for 5 years, can bring anything beneficial. We know that the view is not foreign to some inconsiderate circles across the ocean. We can notice even small positive petty gestures and steps; however, in politics, facts count first, and their balance is still unfavorable.

Good relations between Poland and the West in the past decade have become the source of numerous superficial assessments in Poland. A new stage in the development of the international situation and our recent experience tell us to draw deeper conclusions that will serve the future. The Central Committee expresses the view that class principled clarification of signs now taking place within capitalist formations, and the international situation should become a particularly important task for party and social education.

Poland is attaching great importance to the cooperation with the movement of nonaligned countries. We appreciate their initiatives concerning peace and disarmament, including last year's Delhi Declaration of six states from four continents. Together we demand a halt to imperialist threats and hostile acts against independent sovereign states.

We solidarize with the struggle against racism, apartheid, and all forms of pressure and discrimination. Relations with the developing countries occupy a more and more important place in our foreign policy.

At the initiative of the Politburo, decisions have been made which aim at more dynamic, mutually beneficial cooperation, with universal and qualitative dimensions. We support the right aspirations of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America toward the just solution of the most important global issues, and particularly a new, international economic order.

We are unanimous in striving for an equitable settlement of the worldwide problem of indebtedness which stifles development of dozens of states and which poses a threat -- one that is incalculable in its consequences -- of a breakdown in the financial and currency system. In accordance with the proposal put forward by Poland at the United Nations, preliminary work has begun to set up a Center for Research into Indebtedness and Development, attached to the Jagiellonian University. This center could become a future establishment of international significance. Solidarity and interaction between all anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic and national liberation forces in the struggle for a peaceful future for mankind is of exceptional importance.

In keeping with the ideals of proletarian internationalism, we are for expanding cooperation with all Communist and workers parties in Europe and the world. Irrespective of the differences in strategy and tactics, irrespective of the individual paths we proceed along, Communists ought to maintain unity in the most important issues. To defend peace is a task that surpasses all other tasks. Guided, as we are, by this conviction, we consider it essential that representatives of all Communist and workers' parties should hold a conference soon to jointly define the directions and methods of struggle for this grand goal. We are sincerely open to cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties. We also wish to conduct a dialogue with peasant and democratic parties, with all those who are guided by concern for a peaceful and progressive development of mankind. [applause]

Dear comrades, Poland no longer speaks with a weak voice. However, our voice ought to, and can be louder. Poland's role in the world will truly depend on her strength, wisdom, and belief in herself -- and these depend on us, ourselves.

This is because the international position of any state is dependent, above all, on its internal condition, on the nation's unity with regard to issues of superior importance, on its economic efficiency, and on the social awareness of its citizens.

The defensive might of the socialist community constitutes the foundation of our fatherland's security. In the light of the existing threats, we must make sure that the national and the allied armed forces are ready for combat and that they cooperate closely. This was eloquently reflected in last year's decision to extend the validity of the Warsaw Pact for the next 20 years.

The PZPR emphatically reiterates the will to work constantly on making the ties of friendship and all-around cooperation with the CPSU and other fraternal parties closer. [applause]

We are for continuing to make the socialist community stronger; we are for enhancing its cohesion and unity in all areas. The responsibility of our parties and states for the destiny of socialism, for the world's peaceful future, requires the potential jointly at our disposal be put to maximum use.

We will continue and expand cooperation with other socialist states in Europe, Asia and Latin America, with all countries which are socialist in their orientation. These are the principal conclusions which the Central Committee presents to the congress as far as international policy is concerned.

Taking into account the current, complicated situation in its entirety, especially on our continent, we forward a proposal, for the consideration of the 10th Congress, to adopt a declaration on European security and cooperation. Let it be yet another, eloquent confirmation of the invariable will of our party and state to make a fitting, Polish contribution to this cause which the peoples of our continent share in common. [applause]

Dear comrades and guests, we have said that our congress is an ordinary one. At the same time, it is of special significance: it closes an extraordinarily difficult stage in the life of the party and the country. It also opens up a new stage, the prospects of which are to be defined by our program. The party, the working class, the working people count on the 10th Congress; on the congress tackling the most important problems of today and tomorrow.

The effort of the pregress debate ought to be reflected in our resolutions. It is no less important that all proposals must be tackled, that all postulates be examined by the relevant bodies of the party and the people's power, of the economy and social life.

In the pregress discussion there was a general expectation of truth and hope, truth about the state of society, the state and the economy, and the hope of overcoming difficulties, and of a swifter move forward. We must make good these expectations. A few years ago the question was posed: What guarantees are there that the crisis will not come again? This question can also be heard today. Such guarantees exist, not in declarations, not in words, but in the practice of socialist renewal; as a dialectic process it remains, unchangingly, in force. Among the many factors of the party's credibility, the most important is that of providing results. This, in fact, is the sum total of everything. The party considers it to be its class and national duty to ensure that what is necessary becomes possible; that what will be decided at the congress should be implemented fully and completely. So, the line of efficient implementation, the line of socialist consistency -- that is the general guiding principle of the 10th Congress. [applause]

The congress will give shape to the vision of Poland at the end of the century; such a future as the generations of struggling, working veterans would wish for their homeland, who gave their generous efforts toward their homeland's liberation and socialist progress. From this hall we greet them all warmly and cordially. [applause]

Youth is our great national capital. We turn to the young generation: Your country is Poland; your system is socialism; your time is the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. Give your homeland all your knowledge, your energy and your enthusiasm; build her greatness. [applause]

On 30 June, 40 years ago, a memorable People's Referendum took place. To basic questions regarding the future of Poland, the majority of working people answered yes three times.

Today, both in the People's Councils elections and in the Sejm elections and in the remarkably energetic pregress discussion, and, first and foremost, in everyday life, in a work referendum all its own -- to basic questions regarding the future of the homeland -- our nation answers once again: three times yes. Yes to the principles of the system, to the lasting achievement of the past 40 years, brought about with great effort, to the basis of the new opening in the socioeconomic development of the country; yes to the line of socialist renewal, to the policy of national accord, to the struggle and the reforms; yes to the sovereignty and the security of the nation, to the strengthening of tested alliances and to a worthy place among the nations of Europe and the world, to the ideal of peace.

Our nation has gone through a difficult course of history. It gained victories and recovered from defeats. It overcame obstacles and weaknesses. The path ahead of us is difficult. The goals are ambitious, but we shall certainly reach them. What we will decide in this hall must be implemented in practice. [applause]

Gorbachev Speech

For Soviet reportage on the 10th PZPR Congress, including Gorbachev's visit to Warsaw and speech to the congress, see the Eastern Europe section of the 30 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

KARCZ EVALUATES IMPACT OF IMF ADMISSION

LD291709 Warsaw PAP in English 0742 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Text] Warsaw, June 29: Poland was re-admitted to the International Monetary Fund on June 12 this year. An agreement about Poland's accession to the international bank for reconstruction and development, also known as the World Bank, was signed in Washington June 27. What significance do these two events carry for Poland? PAP Washington correspondent Jerzy Gorski put this question to department director at the Ministry of Finance Zbigniew Karcz who signed the latter agreement in the name of the Polish Government.

The signing of the agreements with the IMF and the World Bank in June opens up a new stage of Poland's cooperation with these organizations as an equal-rights partner. It is obvious that a majority of Polish society will ask just how Poland's membership of these organizations can positively influence our situation as far as payments are concerned, said Karcz.

One should be fully aware that there is no such thing as immediate, automatic benefits which would essentially change Poland's payments situation. More so, one should remember that cooperation with the IMF and World Bank can only be a factor supporting our own efforts, Karcz said. We are the ones who will work out economic programmes and we also will put them to life. Both international organizations can, in the event of an agreement on terms, assist Poland in the realization of programmes aimed in general at the earliest possible restoration of internal and external economic equilibrium.

One can expect such programmes to stir specific controversies, both internal and external ones, but let us hope that these discussions will produce programmes advantageous first of all for Poland's economy as well as programmes acceptable to the IMF and World Bank, continued Karcz. And so the volume of possible assistance from the IMF and World Bank will depend on the efficiency and speed with which these programmes will be prepared, and on their early application.

FINANCE MINISTER MEETS WITH WORLD BANK DELEGATION

LD251020 Warsaw PAP in English 0010 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Warsaw, June 24/25 -- Polish Minister of Finance Stanislaw Nieckarz received here today representatives of the World Bank, headed by Eugenio Lari. The sides exchanged views on Poland's future participation in that organization. The delegation presented evaluations and conclusions from the hitherto work of the World Bank working mission, which stayed in Poland since the beginning of June. Both sides also exchanged views on some aspects of the financial policy and the economic situation in Poland. The talks will be continued in the coming months.

CEAUSESCU SPEECH TO JOINT PLENARY MEETING

AU281034 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Jun 86 pp 1, 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the concluding session of the joint plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People and the Supreme Socioeconomic Development Council held on 25 June in Bucharest]

[Text] Dear Comrades: The National Council of Working People and the Supreme Socioeconomic Development Council have discussed for 2 days and then unanimously adopted the plans and programs for our fatherland's development in the 1986-90 5-year plan and until the year 2000. These plans ensure Romania's elevation to higher peaks of progress and civilization and the continuous increase in the people's material and cultural well-being. (Loud and prolonged applause)

By implementing the plans and programs adopted, we will attain, before 1990, the main target established by the 13th congress concerning our country's transition to the higher stage of an averagely developed socialist country. We will also create conditions for unswervingly implementing the party program for the strong assertion, after the year 2000, of the communist principles of life and work, by ensuring both the victory of the comprehensively developed socialist society and the strong assertion of and transition to communism in Romania (loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!")

That is why one can say that the Eighth 5-Year Plan is decisive for our future development and for attaining the strategic and long-term goal of our party and people. At the party Central Committee plenum, I presented in detail certain problems related to the plans and programs under discussion and the need to improve the management and planning activity in all sectors. Therefore, I do not wish to dwell too much on these issues.

The joint plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People and the Supreme Socioeconomic Development Council, which is attended by almost 3,000 party, state, and economy activists, has discussed in detail, in a critical and self-critical spirit, the results attained so far, the targets of our future development, and the measures to be taken to commendably fulfill these plans and programs.

We have certain good results in the first period of this year, but I must say, on this occasion, too, that we cannot be fully satisfied with these results. There are also many drawbacks. If all units in all sectors had taken more responsible and resolute steps, we would have been able to score much better results both in industry and in agriculture and other sectors.

However, I do not wish to dwell now on these shortcomings. I hope that all participants in this meeting, all ministries and working people's councils, and all party-state county bodies, including the working people's organizations, will understand that they must draw appropriate conclusions from activities to date -- both from what is positive, but also from shortcomings and deficiencies still apparent -- and proceed to take resolute steps, in the spirit of the plans and programs unanimously adopted, to improve the entire activity and pool the efforts of all working people and the entire nation with a view to unflinchingly implementing our development plans and raising our fatherland to higher peaks of progress and civilization. (Loud and prolonged applause)

Both the industrial and agricultural plans as well as other programs presented here were discussed in detail by working people's councils and general meetings. A large number of party-state activists participated in the drafting of these programs.

We formulated appropriate programs for all counties and units. That is why one can say that these documents, which will guide our future activity, are the creative product of the entire party and nation and of all working people. They are the expression of our high revolutionary workers democracy and express the desire of all our people to unswervingly implement our party-state domestic and foreign policy. (Loud and prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-Romanian, Our Esteem and Pride!")

As I said at the party Central Committee plenum, the adopted plans and programs mark a transition to an intensive development of industry, agriculture, and all sectors of activity and to a new quality of work and life for all our people. In this respect, we should take steps in all sectors and units to ensure the full and maximum utilization of the material, technical, and productive capacity, of highly skilled cadres, workers, and scientists, and of the best of our society, with a view to unswervingly implementing the target of intensive development, which is most important for Romania's progress toward communism. (Loud and prolonged applause)

These plans and programs also mark our fatherland's resolution to embark upon the road of implementing the new scientific-technical revolution and the new agrarian revolution. We have special programs in this field. They were broadly discussed at the congress of science, education, and culture and the congress of agriculture. Therefore, we should take all necessary steps to unflinchingly implement the targets of the scientific-technical revolution and the targets of the scientific-technical revolution and the agrarian revolution, by always proceeding from the fact that socialism and communism can only be built on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology in all fields and the latest achievements of overall human knowledge. Socialism and communism means science at the highest level in all fields! (Loud and prolonged applause)

All our programs and plans and the strategic goals for Romania's development can be commendably fulfilled only by people with high skills, high professional and technical training, a high level of culture, and high revolutionary awareness. Man is the decisive factor in all achievements. The fulfillment of the programs unanimously adopted here depends on people, workers, and peasants, intellectuals, and our entire nation!

As these programs are the product of the entire nation's creative thinking, we are firmly convinced that our people will resolutely work to raise their training level in order to better master science and technology, act in full accordance with objective development laws, and consciously build their own free and independent future! (Loud and prolonged applause)

We have wonderful long-term plans and programs, which fully meet the vital interests of the entire nation. It is now necessary to resolutely proceed to implementing organizational measures, better distributing manpower and cadres, and improving the working style and methods in all fields of activity. The successful implementation of the programs adopted today depend on the organizational work, resolution, responsibility, discipline, and order of each management council, each workers democracy body, all party organizations and working people's collectives, and in the last instance on each party-state activist and each working man. (Loud applause)

From the debates here and at the party Central Committee plenum, you were able to note that we have wonderful results in those sectors where steps were taken to firmly apply laws and decisions and make maximum use of scientific-technical achievements. Therefore, I repeat that all our party-state and socialist democracy bodies and all working people should do all they can to expediently fulfill our plans and programs! We must act in a spirit of great responsibility before the party and people to ensure the future of our socialist fatherland! (Loud and prolonged applause)

There is no doubt that we must do all we can to commendably fulfill the production plan and itemized production and strongly develop and implement the programs concerning our energy and raw material base -- and there is a lot to be done in this field. We must also take firmer steps to reduce energy and material consumption and recover and reuse these resources, bearing in mind that they represent about 50 percent, and in many sectors even more than 50 percent, of the technical-material supply.

A number of problems were raised during the plenary debates on developing the technical-material base. However, I think that not enough was said about shortcomings in many units and about steps that should be taken by all units to ensure smooth technical-material supplies and a steady development of the production process.

The existing plan and programs fully ensure the necessary technical-material base for fulfilling the plan and supplementary provisions, but we must take appropriate action to also fulfill the plan provisions in the field of the material and energy base. This must be a daily and priority concern of all units and all working people! In accordance with the programs and plans adopted, we must pay much greater attention to increasing labor productivity in these sectors of activity.

We discussed the program on the scientific organization of production and work and the technological modernization of production. We decided to implement this program in two stages: The first is in 1986. I would like to point out with satisfaction that many comrades have talked about results attained in the first part of this year in implementing the first stage. However, the speeches made by certain comrades left me with the impression that they are somewhat unclear about the second stage, although I believe that the situation is clearly defined in the program we discussed here. Some comrades mentioned 1990 as the date to implement the second stage. However, we proceed from the fact that the second stage must be implemented in 1987-88. The measures stipulated by the second stage should be fully operational as of 1988, so that we can fully apply them in 1989-90 and already reap the results of the steps taken to organize and modernize the entire activity. Only then will we attain the surplus stipulated in all fields. In this respect, we must review our programs and plans in all sectors, ministries, central departments, and counties. Let us act on this basis!

We also discussed the improvement of the economic-financial activity, regulations for expenditure limits, and issues concerning economic efficiency and profitability. The program we adopted provides for very important measures in this field, too, these measures aim at strengthening financial order and discipline and the responsibility of each working people's collective. We have a lot to do in this respect. As I have said at the party Central Committee plenum, many units and economic managers used the economic mechanism mainly to obtain as many advantages as possible and thus shirk their responsibility to the party, state, and people for the way in which they carry out their activity, by involving the free initiative and autonomy stipulated by the economic mechanism.

However, it must be well understood, comrades, that self-management and self-administration, while indeed guaranteeing room for broad initiative on the part of all units, management councils, and working people in these units, stipulate that this initiative must be in accordance with overall development plans and proceed from the fact that each unit administers a certain part of the national wealth and is fully responsible -- before the people and state bodies, which represent the interests of the entire nation -- for the way in which it administers the part of the national wealth entrusted to it. On no account may anybody shirk his responsibility before the people and state bodies! Everybody should do his best to strongly increase profitability, properly administer the means entrusted to him, and increase the efficiency and contribution of each collective to the country's overall development!

We are improving and accentuating self-management and self-administration, but we are not thinking for a moment of letting the management bodies and unit managers make random decisions or decisions to their liking concerning the administration of the entire nation's wealth.

It is our responsibility before the people to develop and further increase the national wealth, since this is a guarantee of our fatherland's progress and development and of the increase in the people's overall well-being! (Loud and prolonged applause).

An inadmissible situation has emerged in recent months, when stockpiles and unsold products have increased, as have done the credits asked by and unfortunately granted to certain units that have expanded their stockpiles and want to finance their poor activity on the basis of credits from the state and at the expense of working people from other units which have scored good results.

The measures to improve financial activity and regulate expenditures aim at introducing order and discipline and avoiding a future repetition of such states of affairs. I dwell on these problems as they are very important for our entire activity; as of this year, beginning with the coming months, we should achieve order with a view to thoroughly eliminating negative states of affairs.

Let us take firmer steps to improve the management and planning of all sectors of activity. Let us harmoniously blend the activity of state bodies, workers democracy bodies, and self-management and self-administration in all fields, since this represents a single whole and a new form of the revolutionary workers democracy, in which all working people and the entire nation decide their own destiny and the golden future of our fatherland, namely, the firm progress toward communism! (Loud and prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

The implementation of our plans and programs requires resolute steps to further develop international economic relations and production sharing, both with CEMA countries, all socialist countries, and developing states as well as with the developed capitalist countries.

It is absolutely necessary to give priority to commendably fulfilling the production earmarked for export and the export itself, as an objective prerequisite for the smooth development of our entire activity. I believe that all ministries, all management councils in central departments and units, all working people, the party county committees, and all workers democracy bodies should take resolute steps to eliminate certain shortcomings in this sector and ensure in the coming months the expedient fulfillment of the export production and export itself, by manufacturing better products of a higher technical and qualitative level than other products on the international plane. Only thus will the Romanian products be able to assert themselves at the world level and will be in demand with our foreign partners. Only thus will we be able to further expand our international cooperation and participate more actively in the international division of labor in all fields. (Loud applause)

We discussed various problems; I do not want to discuss them now, since, as I have already said, I believe that they are well known; hence I do not have to dwell upon them. We are embarking upon a new road of struggle and work; we have to cover yet untrodden paths toward the high peaks of communism, the golden dream of our people and all mankind. It will not be an easy road, we are not going on a parade or a trip! We are going to work, and this requires effort and a revolutionary spirit on the part of each working people's collective and all party-state cadres! (Lively applause)

The party anniversary was mentioned here. But we must always bear in mind that our party has asserted itself under difficult conditions of revolutionary means to put the overall interests of the people, socialism, and Romania's independence and sovereignty above everything else. (Loud applause). To be a revolutionary means to take a resolute stand against everything that is old, outdated, and no longer corresponds to the new realities and our new development stage; to be a revolutionary means to firmly work to promote what is now and the latest achievements of science, technology, and human knowledge! Only on the basis of the latest and highest achievements in all fields can we build socialism and communism! (Lively applause).

We have a good guide, the RCP, which has proved in its 65 years of existence that it has at heart only the interests of the people and their well-being, the fatherland's independence, and the victory of communism in Romania! (Loud and prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

We should never forget that we must always strengthen the party's links with the broad people's masses and the entire nation's unity around the RCP, which is the leading political force in our society. Let us continuously expand our democratic framework and the revolutionary workers democracy, by always proceeding from the fact that socialism is being built with the people and for the people and that only together with the people and only by acting in full unity and pooling the entire nation's efforts can we implement the wonderful goals of communism in Romania.

Let us step into the new development stage with confidence in the wonderful ideals of socialism and communism; let us unswervingly guide ourselves by the principles of scientific socialism and dialectical and historical materialism; let us put our full trust in the creative force of the people, who are the only true builders of everything we are achieving in Romania and the true shapers of their history and free and independent future. (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!")

While focusing on the implementation of our wonderful development plans and programs, we must do everything to contribute to resolving international problems in a new and democratic way, halt the dangerous course of international events, resume the policy of detente, and promote a policy of peace and cooperation among all states, regardless of social system. (Loud applause).

We can attain our targets only in conditions of peace; the same applies to every other people, who can secure its development only in conditions of peace. That is why the key problem of our time is to bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and defend peace and the vital right of people to life, existence, freedom, and independence. (Loud and prolonged applause).

I talked about international problems at the party Central Committee plenum; hence I do not wish to dwell upon them now. However, I would like to mention on this occasion, too, that all party-state bodies and all our organizations -- within the framework of the relations they maintain at the international level in all fields -- must act in the spirit of our party's policy of peace and cooperation and must make a contribution to attaining the aspirations of all mankind to live without nuclear arms or any kind of arms in a world without wars, a world of equal cooperation between all nations! (Loud applause; prolonged chants; "Ceausescu-peace!" and "Disarmament-peace!")

Dear comrades, we are in the middle of the first year of the 1986-90 5-year plan. We have many more half-year periods to cover until the completion of the 5-year plan. Only 6 months out of 60 months have passed so far.

It is necessary to start from the joint plenary meeting of the National Council of the Working People and the Supreme Socioeconomic Development Council with the firm determination to pass immediately to the necessary measures to commendably fulfill this year's plan indexes, thus laying a sound foundation for the fulfillment of the entire 5-year plan and of the development programs up to the year 2000.

During today's meeting some distinctions were awarded for the results of the activity carried out in 1985. From the rostrum of the joint plenary meeting, I would like to convey congratulations to the counties and units that occupied the first place or a front-ranking place for the results they attained and I would like to urge them to do everything to keep these places, so that next year they may obtain an even better place in the competition that takes place among all the counties and units of the country.

I convey congratulations to all working people for the results they attained in 1985 and I wish all the units and all the counties that they attain ever better results this year! Each of you should strive for an ever better place and if possible for one of the first place! Each of you should strive for the first place! (Loud, prolonged applause)

From the rostrum of the joint plenary meeting of the National Council of the Working People and the Supreme Socioeconomic Development Council I call on all the working people's councils, all the working people, and all our people: Let us most resolutely engage in the struggle and work for ensuring the commendable fulfillment of plans and programs! Let us do all we can to ensure an ever stronger development of our homeland's technical and material base and to raise continuously the material and cultural well-being of the whole people -- the supreme goal of our party's policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are successfully building in Romania! (Loud prolonged applause)

I call on the members of the National Council of the Working People and the Supreme Socioeconomic Development Council to pledge themselves that together with all the councils and democratic bodies they will work with more responsibility and self-denial and will do all they can to demonstrate what a force is represented by the new democratic bodies and what a force is represented by the workers class and by a nation that is master of its destinies and works for itself, for its well-being and happiness and for Romania's independence and greatness! (Loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

Once again I wish all the working people, all our people, the party and state bodies, and all the bodies of our workers' revolutionary democracy to attain even greater successes and newer and newer results in all the fields and fulfill the plan with ever better results! Much health and happiness! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!")

I declare the proceedings of our joint plenary meeting closed. Complete success in your work, comrades! (Loud, prolonged cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" "Ceausescu-peace!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and great and ardent patriotic, revolutionary engagement, all those present rise and cheer at length, in full unity, for the RCP -- the leading political force of our whole nation, and for the party secretary general, the president of the country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu).

PREMIER DASCALESU REPORT ON 1986-90 PLAN IN GNA

AU262033 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1926 GMT 26 Jun 86

["Memorandum of the Bill of the National Socioeconomic Development Plan Read by Constantin Dascalescu" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/6/1986 -- Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, who read the Memorandum of the National Plan for Romania's Economic and Social Development Over 1986-1990 before the Grand National Assembly on behalf of the government, showed that the fundamental strategic target of the new five-year plan was Romania's passage to a higher stage, that of a medium-developed country. The Romanian premier pointed out that in line with the broad democratic system in Romania, the plan provisions were worked out in close cooperation with collective management boards in enterprises and central departments, with people's councils, ministries and the other central bodies, and were discussed in the general meetings of working people in economic and social units, at the level of communes, towns, cities and counties, at the congress of the General Trade Union Confederation, as well as at the congress of science and education and where examined and unanimously approved by the recent plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP, the plenary meeting of the National Council of Working People and of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development. The five-year plan, he said, boasts the unquestionable attribute of a collective creation belonging to those who are in duty bound to fulfill its provisions.

The fundamental priorities under of the 1986-1990 five-plan, the memorandum shows, are the further strong development of the forces of production and of the material and technological base, a more marked intensive growth, the powerful assertion of the new revolution in science and technology and of a new agrarian revolution, the firm continuation of the process of revolutionarily transforming society, the achievement of a higher quality of work and life, the further rise in the whole people's welfare and civilization standards, the strengthening of socialist Romania's independence and sovereignty.

According to plan provisions, over 1986-1990 industrial production will go up at a 7.5-8.3 percent average annual rate, which is higher than that envisaged in the thirteenth RCP congress guidelines, Constantin Dascalescu pointed out, underscoring that in that framework an important place was held by concerns to boost the country's raw materials resources, by discovering and capitalizing new reserves of mineral and energy and raw materials. The memorandum also shows that 1990's net coal output is envisaged to stand at 117.3 million tons, that conditions had been created for a double growth of the production of pit coal intended for coke with a view to saving hard currency resources. To attain a 101.7-billion-kwh energy target, the amount of energy generated by coal-fueled plants should double, new units with an installed generating capacity of roughly 3,300 Mw should be commissioned and the production of water power, which is to account for 18 per cent of total produced energy in 1990, should rise. The memorandum shows and points out that in the ongoing quinquennium the installed generating capacity of nuclear plants in operation would amount to 5,200 Mw, while the output of energy generated from new and recovered sources through new technologies would be 7.5 fold larger than in 1985. Highlighting that in the manufacturing industry the plan laid stress on actions aimed at updating production structures, the speaker showed that steel production in the iron-and-steel industry would stand at 20-20.5 million tons in 1990 as an outcome of a 70-per cent rise in the weight of special steels needed to back up programmes in key technological areas. Provisions are also made for a high-rate growth of electronics and microelectronics, of means to automatize and control manufacturing processes, of high-tech, highly productive machine tools.

Over 1986-1990 a double-growth will be recorded in the production of the fine-synthesis and small-tonnage chemistry - medicines, cosmetics, pest killers, reagents and chemical catalysts - as a result of processing home raw materials to a greater extent.

The memorandum also shows that consumer goods production will increase and diversify in the new five-year plan period, as the quality of products in the light and food industry will improve. Production in the small-scale industry will grow at an average annual rate of 11.4 per cent over the quinquennium.

Pointing out that one of the basic priorities under the Eighth Five-Year Plan was the intensive development of agriculture, by achieving the new agrarian revolution and ensuring a corresponding ratio between the growth of industry and that of agriculture, the speaker emphasized that the plan provided for a rise in overall farm output at an average annual rate of 6.1-6.7 per cent, to be supported by a large investment volume worth 190 billion lei. Cereal production will stand at roughly 32.5 million tons, that is more than 1,300 kg per capita; substantially larger amounts of technical plants, vegetables and fruit will be harvested, and animal breeding will account for 46-48 per cent of the total farm production in 1990.

The memorandum points to the fact that the five-year plan provides for the implementation of an ample investment programme worth 1,400 billion lei. In industry whereto more than 840 billion lei were allotted, investments were distributed mainly for the development of power engineering and the extractive industry. The investments in the processing industries are channelled toward completing the projects started in the 1981-1985 interval, toward updating and developing the units included in the priority programmes. The major goal of the current five-year plan is that by 1990 each county achieve a total volume of economic activities (in industry, agriculture, construction, transport, services and others) worth at least 80,000 lei per inhabitant, of which 50,000 lei worth of industrial production, the speaker stressed.

One of the salient features of the present five-year plan, the memorandum shows, is Romania's ever more active and efficient participation in the world economic exchanges, the steady increase of commercial exchanges and cooperation with all socialist countries, the deepening of economic and technical-scientific collaboration within the CMEA, the expansion of economic relations with developing countries, the promotion of economic and technical-scientific collaboration with developed capitalist countries, with all the states of the world, whatever their social system.

Over 1986-1990 foreign trade is estimated to grow 52.7 per cent as to 1981-1985. Export is to rise more than 75 per cent as its structure is to substantially modify owing to a bigger share of highly processed products. In 1990, the machine-building industry is to contribute over 32 per cent to the total exports.

Foreign economic relations centre on exchanges and cooperation with socialist countries which in 1990 will hold a 50-per cent share in the foreign trade volume, the speaker underlined mentioning that special concern would be shown to cooperation in production, to the extension of the long-term agreements concluded and to the conclusion of long-term contracts and understandings.

The Eighth Five-year Plan focuses on the organic integration of quality questions, the faster growth of efficiency in the process of a speeded-up economic development, the memorandum shows emphasizing that the draft plan gives priority to the more marked growth of labor productivity which is to rise 70.4 per cent in the national industry over this five-year period, especially by extending production mechanization and automation, the utilization of highly efficient machinery and equipment, the application of new manufacturing technologies.

According to the 1986-1990 plan provisions, the memorandum also shows, real payment will rise 6-8 per cent, all while firmly promoting the principle of a faster growth of labour productivity according to the increase of payment. Peasant's real incomes will also grow 6-8 per cent. The incomes from the social consumption funds will continue to rise. Calculated per one family, the state's funds for the financing of sociocultural activities, pensions, child benefits and others will amount to more than 15,000 lei in 1990. The volume of goods sold through the socialist trade network will be 9.4 per cent larger in 1990 than in 1985. Services to the population will increase at an average annual rate of 12.3 per cent. The prices and tariffs index is to rise under rigorous control within the planned limits of 1.1-1.3 per cent a year.

Over 1986-1990, 750 thousand new dwellings will be built, of which 100 thousand in communes and villages. Polytechnic education will develop with priority and will closely intertwine with production and research, the health care system will continue to improve, and cultural-artistic activities will multiply.

The implementation of the programme for a more marked growth of labour productivity will provide for a gradual transition to the 44-42-hour workweek until 1990, the final section of the memorandum shows inter alia.

DINCA REPORTS ON AGRICULTURE PLAN AT GNA SESSION

AU261939 Bucharest ACERPRES in English 1835 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest, ACERPRES 26/6/1986 -- [memorandum of the 1986 - 1990 agriculture and food industry development plan bill -- ACERPRES headline] In line with the policy of balanced growth of the basic branches of the Romanian economy, a plan for the development of agriculture and food industry for 1986-1990 was worked out closely correlated to Romania's general five-year plan of economic and social development.

Entrusted by the government with the presentation of the Draft Development Plan of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry and Water Management for 1986-1990 to the Grand National Assembly, Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, said that the draft plan provisions were aimed at the intensive growth and modernization of agriculture as a whole, a more efficient use of the land and of the technical-material base, a faster growth of animal and plant production, a better capitalization of raw materials by the food industry and the diversification of its production, a higher economic efficiency.

Net farm production is planned to rise at an annual rate of 85-90 percent on an average in the next five years, said the speaker, adding that, as far as plant output was concerned, priority would continue to be given to cereals the total productions of which are expected to reach 32.5 million tons by 1990, of which 10.2 million tons of wheat and rye, and 18.2 million tons of maize. Larger productions are planned for other crops as well -- 11.6 million tons of sugar beet, 2.4 million tons of sunflower and soybeans, 19.5 million tons of potatoes and vegetables, and 5.6 million tons of fruit and grapes.

The plant production rises are planned to be achieved largely through higher average yields per hectare. Attention will concentrate on the agricultural and arable area which is to be expanded by some 700 thousand hectares during this five-year plan through reclamation. Furthermore, two million hectares are planned to be put under double and successive crops, and some 600 thousand hectares under mixed crops. A 2.6 - million - hectare area will be laid out for irrigation during this five-year period, and nearly one million hectares will be erosion - controlled.

A major aim of the current five-year plan is animal output, the share of which is put at 46-48 per cent of the total in 1990, up from 42.7 per cent in 1985. The food industry, says the memorandum, will develop in the next five years at an annual rate of 10.1 per cent on an average, with its net production being planned to rise at an average, with its net production being planned to rise at an average 12 per cent. The drive for organization and modernization in the food industry will continue.

In forestry, action will be taken to maintain the integrity of the forest stock and conserve it. Forest land is put at 6.6 million hectares in 1990, said the speaker, who added that fellings would be limited, forest regeneration would be ensured, steps would be taken to achieve optimum density and plant trees on areas unsuitable for agricultural uses. In water management, action will be taken to further develop river basins, supply water to industry and the population, as well as to agriculture where safe stable productions are aimed at.

Investment in agriculture, food industry, forestry and water management is put at 210 thousand million lei.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES USSR AMBASSADOR 30 JUN

AU301759 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1727 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/6/1986 -- On Monday, June 30, the RCP general secretary and Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, received E.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, upon the latter's request. A talk was held on the occasion, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

CPSU ACTIVISTS CONCLUDE FACT-FINDING VISIT

AU281327 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1231 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/6/1986 -- A delegation of activists of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by V.G. Afonin, alternate member of the CC of the CPSU, head of the Chemical Industry Section of the CC of the CPSU, paid an exchange-of-experience visit to Romania over June 23-28 upon the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

The Soviet guests conducted talks at the headquarters of the CC of the RCP, the Iasi County Committee of the RCP, with executives of central institutions, and visited economic units and sociocultural establishments in Bucharest as well as in Iasi and Bacau Counties.

At the end of their visit the delegation were received by Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. Reference was made on the occasion to the ties of friendship and cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples on multiple planes, and determination was expressed to jointly work for the development of Romanian-Soviet relations in accordance with summit understandings.

The talk, the atmosphere of which was warm and friendly, was attended by Eleonora Cojocaru, vice-chairman of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activities.

AERONAUTICS PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH USSR

AU271154 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1121 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest AGRPRES 27/6/1986 -- A protocol on development of collaboration of Aeronautic Industry was signed in Bucharest on June 27 between the Ministry of Machine Building of Romania and the Ministry of Aircraft Industry of the USSR. The protocol, signed by Marin Nedelcu, minister of machine building, for Romania, and A.S. Systosov, Minister of Aircraft Industry, for the USSR, stipulates new ways and modalities for the development of long-term collaboration between the two countries in research, design and manufacturing of aviation technique.

DASCALESCU GREETSS CSSR'S STROUGAL ON REELECTION

AU190910 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Jun 86 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania sent a greetings cable to Comrade Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, on the occasion of his reelection to this office and extends to him best wishes for health, happiness, and new successes in all his activity.

In the cable the belief that the governments of the two countries will cooperate more actively in the future for developing further the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations of friendship and cooperation is expressed.

DASCALESCU SENDS MESSAGE TO BULGARIA'S ATANASOV

AU201041 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Jun 86 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a cable to Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in which he conveys most sincere congratulations on the latter's reelection to that office. The cable expresses the conviction that the governments of the two countries will continue to cooperate fruitfully to constantly develop traditional relations of friendship between Romania and Bulgaria.

RENOVICA DELIVERS CLOSING SPEECH AT CONGRESS

LD282129 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Speech by Milanko Renovica, president of the LCY Presidium at the concluding session of the 13th LCY Congress on 28 Jun -- recorded]

[Text] Comrades: At our 13th LCY Congress, as well as at the congresses and conferences of the LC's in the republics and provinces and in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA], at the SAWP conference, at the congresses of the Federation of the Trade Unions and of the Federation of the Associations of the Veterans of the National Liberation War, and of the Federation of Yugoslav Socialist Youth, we strengthened and enhanced our knowledge about the situation in the LC, in the working class, and in our society. We confirmed our unity in the struggle for the further socialist self-management development of our country. The congress has approved the assessments and directions of the LC's activity contained in the main report, draft resolutions, and in the report of the president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

The congress vigorously expressed creative criticism of the gap between the actual situation and the strategic orientations about the historic role and position of the working class and of self-management associated labor as decisive factors of the development of the system of socialist self-management and of the development of the production forces of our society implicit in our programs. It demonstrated the resolve, the readiness, and the ability of the Communists and all socialist self-management forces of our society to change the existing situation resolutely and faster. This is a great commitment and an encouragement for direct political and social action. The need for substantial changes in the social, economic, and political relations in our society along the line of our program and constitutional orientations has been vigorously asserted. The congress displayed the unity that words should be translated into deeds, that we have to fight in a concrete way for the development of socialist self-management, and, on this basis, for the democratization of social relations, for dynamic and harmonious material and social development, for affirmation of collective work and decisionmaking, and for personal and collective responsibility in the adoption and efficient implementation of the decisions.

The congress laid down the demand for a consistent implementation of the strategy of intensive economic operations, established in the long-term program of economic stabilization and in the congress resolutions. The following are the priority tasks here: further development of socialist self-management; consolidation of the self-management status of the working people; a higher rate of production, exports, and job creation; more efficient use of social resources and of all production factors; fuller observance of the impact of economic laws and the abandonment of red tape in regulating the reproduction trends. We must create the conditions to accelerate our country's inclusion in international scientific and technological progress and to secure for Yugoslavia an appropriate place in the international division of labor through a greater reliance on our own skills and technology. Our most urgent task is to bring about essential changes in the economic position of associated labor to enable associated workers to take on the rights, the commitments, and the responsibility in making decisions on the conditions and on the results of the work; on seeing economic stabilization through; and on adapting the economy to the requirements of the scientific and technological progress.

This is the way to get out of the economic crisis, to bring down inflation, and to enhance the efficiency of our system. This is why we have to give priority to all those elements, which by the force of their economic rationality and interests expressed along self-management lines, will accelerate the integration of social labor in the Yugoslav area. If this economic logic and the self-management associated labor are not freed from the present restraints, which have their roots in the strong statist bureaucracy and in specific historic, economic, ideological, and other inherited problems, it would be futile to expect that we will bring this about solely by the action of political factors. In this context, the most essential thing to do is to bring about full affirmation of the workers in associated labor and of their work as the main production factor and, through that, their affirmation as self-managers and factors of our political system. This requires appropriate changes and improvements in our political system.

The congress is unanimous in the demand that the key development decisions be taken by the workers making their decisions within the framework of the delegate system. This battle can be pursued and won only by the working class acting together with all the working strata led by a united LC. There is no place in the LC for those people who pay lip service to the authority of the working class, but in practice do the opposite. [applause]

We must see to it that the working class and the working people obtain a dominant role in controlling surplus value, in delegating authority, and in managing social affairs. In our struggle for self-management social relations, we must reassert the moral values of our movement without which there is no free life or material and cultural progress. We must return dignity to work, especially to creative, productive, innovatory, professional, and conscientiously and honestly done work. [applause]

The congress fully manifested the LC's responsibility to create political and other conditions, to mobilize the working class, our working people, and all social factors so that the unfavorable trends in our economic and social development can be vigorously overcome. A resolute demand was made for comprehensive, coordinated, current, and long-term measures to be taken to implement the long-term program of economic stabilization and of the LC policy. An aboutface in economic developments in the direction of more stable and more dynamic development and intensive economic operation can be brought about only by concrete actions, better work, and unity in implementing the agreed policy.

Socialist self-management and social ownership of the means of production, authority, and unity of the working class, national equality, brotherhood and unity, the federal system in the country, all-people's defense and social self-protection, and on nonaligned foreign policy represent the revolutionary achievements of our working class and of our nations and nationalities. They are and remain our lasting orientation and the permanent values of our socialist revolution. [applause]

The congress clearly demonstrated that it is not socialist self-management which is in a crisis, but specific concrete and inadequate mechanisms, ways, and methods of its implementation. It has been demonstrated that estatization of relations in our social reality has deeper roots and is of more extensive dimension.

This is why the working class, the LC, and all self-management socialist forces will resolutely fight against all attempts to usurp the authority of the working class by statist, technobureaucratic, and other antiself-management forces. [applause] It has become clear that the stagnation in the development of socialist self-management cannot be eliminated merely by changing individual solutions, by criticizing specific actions and practice, or merely battling against antiself-management activity, but mainly with a comprehensive and persistent development of the system of socialist self-management as a historic path of emancipating labor. We are unanimous in our assessment that the way out of the economic crisis and crisis situations in our society is possible only through the further development of socialist self-management, through intensive economic management, by relying on our own resources, and by developing the skills and the abilities of associated Yugoslav workers.

In a democratic and open dialogue the 13th Congress indubitably demonstrated -- and the results which have been attained testify that this is so -- that we have enough strength, knowledge, and experience to extend faster the area of socialist self-management. It is therefore indispensable that we, the Communists, go on critically identifying and evaluating the methods and means with which our social development is brought about. Faster and without hesitation we should rid ourselves of dogmatism in defense of these institutional and legalistic solutions and of everything which today is incapable of being confirmed as an instrument of working people and of socialist self-management forces in the struggle for what is new, socialist, and humane. [applause] For the sake of revolutionary continuity, we must not stop at what has already been handed down and recognized. Let us be open to the flow of modern and progressive ideas, to new impulses stemming from daily self-management practice in the production of material goods and cultural values.

The LCY critically and self-critically evaluated general socioeconomic development and made a critique of its own practice and mistakes. This is a strong ideological instrument of political activation of the Communists and of all our working people in their work and in struggle for the prosperity of our community because in our society today, those solutions are most efficient and most suitable to the demands of our working class which have been put up by the practice of self-management as a mainstay of the democratization of production and overall social relations. We should persist along this way. This is the only way that enables the LCY unceasingly to identify and to comprehend the historic dimensions of communist society and at the same time to stand firmly on the ground of social reality.

The 13th LCY Congress has asserted itself as a congress of unity and action of the LC and of the broadest socialist and democratic forces in the country associated in the socialist alliance as a front of organized socialist forces. [applause] We are determined to strengthen permanently the unity and cohesion of Yugoslavia, a socialist self-management community of equal nations and nationalities [applause]; to develop and strengthen it in the direction historically chosen by the decisions of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia; to enhance further the achievements of brotherhood, unity, and equality of our nations and nationalities; and to suppress and eradicate all forms of nationalism, separatist and unitarist tendencies, and irredentist conspiracies. We must eliminate even more vigorously the underlying reasons of all forms of nationalism and its destructive activity. We are confronted by the urgent task of resolutely eliminating the sources providing sustenance to nationalism, separatism, irredentism, and counterrevolution in Kosovo, and their grave consequences.

The historic responsibility for the future of the revolution and for the development of socialism on the basis of self-management requires that as soon as possible, faster, and more efficiently, and in addition to surmounting all the difficulties and problems, we should fight to acquire our niche in the present day conditions of the international division of labor. In this way alone we will ensure successful development and defend the reputation and position that our country has won, a country that is capable of developing on its own socialist self-management basis, and prevent it from becoming a technological colony of the world neocapitalism or from being constantly threatened by the destinies of state socialism.

Yugoslav Communists unswervingly remain on Tito's line of the struggle for a better world; for more equitable international, economic, and political relations; for security, for equality, socialism, and peace in the world. [applause] Nonalignment is our lasting orientation; it brings together people and enjoins on them cooperation, solidarity, and peaceful coexistence. On this basis we will develop and enrich comprehensive cooperation with all the countries, progressive forces, communists, socialists, workers, and democratic parties, and movements in the world today. [applause]

The working class does not expect any miracles from its vanguard, the LC, along our road of socialist self-management development. It is aware of the gravity of the struggle and it is ready for prolonged skirmishes and even denials and for all the trials along the road which will extricate us from the crisis and open up the prospects of successful development. Our working class, however, demands unity and action, consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism, and stronger ideopolitical organizational and cadre ability of the LC to operate in the present day conditions of the struggle for the historic objectives of our revolution. The LCY Central Committee has a great responsibility to bear in giving life to this plebiscitary orientation of the Communists and of the working class and in carrying out the decisions of this congress. It is under an obligation to operate resolutely and responsibly, to initiate and to steer political activity, and to provide full support for the struggle of all organized social forces for the socialist present and future of our society. Without any hesitation in this matter, full responsibility would be demanded from the organs, organizations, and members of the LC for immediate activity, for the preservation of the achievements of the revolution, and for attaining concrete results in the development of socialist self-management, implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, and of the objectives of the overall socioeconomic development.

At this congress once again, we felt to what extent we miss Tito. Let Tito's revolutionary spirit, ideas, and achievements be recognized not only by the words we say but also by the results which we accomplish. [applause] The 13th Congress makes it incumbent upon us to persist in the struggle for socialist self-management development of the Yugoslav community. It makes it incumbent upon us to lead the way in the struggle to emancipate labor and man with our work and our example.

We are ending our congress with a conviction that we are capable of performing these tasks and that we are ready to do so. We possess strength in the LC, in the working class, and in our society; we have at our disposal enormous untapped resources and the unshakeable resolve of our working people and citizens to fight for a better future. Our contemporaries and following generations will appreciate us by what we have attained and not by our intentions and words. [applause]

Comrades, on behalf of the newly elected members of the LCY organs, I thank you for the confidence you have placed in us. We will spare no effort to measure up to the tasks laid down by the congress.

I thank the present members of the Central Committee, of the Commission for Statute Questions, and of the Supervisory Commission of the LCY for their work and for the efforts they invested during the preceding period. I express special gratitude to all comrades, prominent revolutionaries of our workers and communist movement, who are ceasing their active work in LC organs, for their contribution thus far to our revolution and to socialist development, but who will remain in the heart of our political action. [applause]

I thank the representatives of the parties and movements who, in such an impressive number, attended our congress. [applause] I am confident that they were briefed better on the LCY's struggle for the development of socialist self-management; for equality, peace, and socialism in the world; for friendship among the peoples; and for the consolidation of all-round relations between our parties and countries.

Comrades, at the end of our 4 years [as heard] of work on behalf of the congress, and on behalf of you all I would like to thank all the organs and organizations of Belgrade, our host city, the citizens of the hero city, who secured all the conditions for our work and who cordially and hospitably provided for all the delegates and guests. [applause]

On behalf of the working Presidium and of all the participants in the congress, I would like to thank for the contribution and the successful work of the congress made by the comrades who were involved in the professional, organizational, technical, and other preparations for the 13th Congress. [applause] I express my gratitude to the Sava Center work collective, where we spent the past 4 days. [applause]

Our congress was followed by a great number of journalists, photographers, and cameramen from Yugoslavia and abroad. I thank the representatives of the foreign information media who kept the world public informed about the work of the congress. [applause] I also thank the representatives of the public information media in our country who made great efforts to provide the fullest possible and most comprehensive information about the work of the congress. [applause]

Comrades, before concluding the work of the 13th Congress, I would like to inform the newly elected members of the LCY organs that the first sessions will be held within 30 minutes of the conclusion of the Congress: Central Committee in hall No 1, building A; Commission for Statute Questions in hall No 2, building A; and Supervisory Commission in hall No 3, building A.

In conclusion, Comrades, I would like to thank you all, the delegates and the guests of the congress, for your fruitful contribution to our work together. [applause]

And now, let us move united into action to give life to the decisions of our congress. [prolonged applause]

I proclaim that the work of the 13th LCY Congress has been completed.

LEADERS HOLD MEETINGS WITH DELEGATIONS TO CONGRESS

Hasani Talks With Coman

AU251915 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade AGERPRES 25/6/1986 -- The president of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Sinan Hasani, received Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of the Romanian Communist Party's delegation to the Thirteenth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. On that occasion he was conveyed friendly greetings and best wishes of good health from RCP general secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, while the Yugoslav people's wishes of fresh achievements in their ample work on the road of building the new socialist society in the neighbor and friendly Yugoslavia.

Thanking for the wishes and feelings of friendship extended to him, Sinan Hasani requested that warm friendly greetings and wishes of good health, power of work and personal happiness be conveyed to Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as wishes of further and ever greater successes to the Romanian people in building the multilaterally developed socialist society. Willingness was expressed to continue the tradition of Romanian-Yugoslav summits as they have every time contributed decisively to amplifying the ties of close friendship and collaboration between the two countries, in accordance with the interests of the Romanian people and the Yugoslav peoples, for the benefit of the cause of socialism, understanding and collaboration in the Balkans, in Europe and the world over.

Zarkovic Meets Coman

AU271756 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1728 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, AGERPRES 27/6/1986 -- The president of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY received Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, chief delegate of the Romanian Communist Party to the Thirteenth LCY Congress. On the occasion, Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY, was conveyed cordial, comradely greetings from the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as best wishes of success in the proceedings of the Yugoslav Communists' forum, while the Yugoslav working people wishes of fresh success in building socialism, in translating into fact the resolutions of the current congress.

Thanking for the wishes conveyed to him, Vidoje Zarkovic requested that warm comradely greetings be addressed to President Nicolae Ceausescu as well as friendly wishes of full success in the tireless activity he is carrying on at the helm of the party and state for the guaranteed dynamic development of society, for the benefit and happiness of the Romanian people.

The LCY leadership's determination was expressed to further the tradition of Romanian-Yugoslav summits with a view to steadily expanding and amplifying ties of friendship and mansided collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples in the development of which a decisive role was played by the interviews and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Josip Broz Tito. During the talk opinions were exchanged on current international political issues.

Zarkovic Receives MPRP, BCP Groups

LD272334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, this evening received in the main reception area of the Sava Center, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], which is being led by Tumenbayaryn Ragchaa, a member of the Central Committee Politburo. Vidoje Zarkovic also received the BCP delegation, which is being led by Milko Balev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Central Committee.

Zarkovic Meets PZPR Group

LD261256 Warsaw PAP in English 1135 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, June 26: President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) CC Presidium Vidoje Zarkovic received here yesterday the PUWP delegation to the 13th LCY Congress, with Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Marian Wozniak.

In the course of the meeting, Marian Wozniak reported on the preparations for the 10th PUWP Congress, and the process of renewal, which marked the PUWP activity in the period between the 9th and 10th PUWP Congresses. Wozniak also described the present economic situation in Poland, and trends of solving difficulties, which occurred in social and economic life. He pointed out that some economic problems, faced by both parties were convergent.

Referring to his recent visit to Poland, and talks with PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, Vidoje Zarkovic stressed international significance of the processes of socio-political stabilisation in Poland. The LCY president expressed his personal respect for Wojciech Jaruzelski's achievements and contribution to the process of renewal and reforms carried out in Poland.

Vidoje Zarkovic and Marian Wozniak emphasized the high level of efficiency in developing economic, cultural, cooperation and tourist exchange. The two sides attached great significance to both parties' cooperation in the international arena, in favour of the consolidation of peace and equal-right cooperation.

Zarkovic, Algerian Talk

LD261214 Algiers APS in Arabic 0700 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jun (APS) -- Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, member of the Political Bureau and official in charge of the National Liberation Front [FLN] Permanent Secretariat, continues his political talks with the Yugoslav leadership. He met with Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, yesterday afternoon.

Current international issues of mutual interest, primarily issues relating to peace and security in the Mediterranean, were the main topics of their talks, which also enabled the two officials to review relations between the two parties and ways to enhance them in accordance with the will and determination of the two countries' political leadership. The two sides dealt with cooperation in various fields and stressed the importance of finding the best ways to consolidate it.

In addition Mohamed Cherif Messaadia has met, on the fringes of the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, with Alessandro Natta, the Italian Communist Party secretary general. The two officials dealt, during this meeting, with issues of mutual interest, particularly the situation in the Mediterranean and the existing relations between the FLN party and the Italian Communist Party.

Andrej Meets Havasi

LD271542 Budapest MTI in English 1452 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, June 27 (MTI) -- Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee and head of the Hungarian party delegation to the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, held talks with Andrej Marinc, Slovenian member of the presidium of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and Geza Bacic, secretary of the Republican Assembly of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, in Belgrade on Friday. In cordial friendly talks the politicians exchanged views on the further strengthening of Hungarian-Slovenian cooperation in the relations of the two neighboring countries.

The delegation of the HSWP CC visited the memorial centre in Belgrade and laid flowers on the tomb of Josip Broz Tito.

Mikulic Meets Havasi

LD271349 Budapest MTI in English 1200 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, June 27 (MTI) -- Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee and head of the Hungarian party delegation to the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, held talks with Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council, whom he conveyed the greetings of the Hungarian party and state leaders, in Belgrade on Friday.

In cordial, friendly talks the politicians highly appreciated the friendly relations between the two parties and two states, and exchanged views on the further development of ties. It was emphasized that in course of strengthening economic cooperation special stress be [as received] laid on production cooperation, in addition to the expansion of trade turnover.

The parties stressed that the Croatian, Slovenian and Serbian minorities in Hungary and the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia, acting as a bridge, should help build confidence and strengthen friendship between the two peoples. The politician surveyed the most topical international affairs, with special stress laid on world economic issues.

Officials Meet Cuba's Almeida

FL281149 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] In Belgrade, commander of the revolution Juan Almeida has met with high-level government and League of Communists of Yugoslavia officials. Among them were Stane Dolanc, member of the Presidency of the Republic with whom he held talks. Almeida was accompanied by the Communist Party of Cuba delegation to the 23d Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which ends today.

DJILAS INTERVIEWED ON LCY CONGRESS, STALIN

PM271341 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 27 Jun 86 p 6

[Undated interview with Milovan Djilas by Robin Gedye: "Tito's Heir Fearful for Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade -- Milovan Djilas, former Yugoslav vice president, does not think very highly of the Communist Party Congress in Belgrade. He has heard it all before and is waiting for the political and economic crisis to deepen before the new order arrives.

Mr Djilas, 75 this month, is the last survivor of Yugoslavia's post-war leadership quartet and one-time heir apparent to President Tito.

His crisis of belief in Communism turned him from an intimate of Stalin and a leading revolutionary into an "enemy of the state" while at the height of his power.

And as I learned when talking to him he is unrelenting in his criticism of a system that he now believes to be in an advanced stage of decomposure.

He sees the Yugoslav meeting, which ends tomorrow, as a meaningless repetition of similar past events which will end in a flabby declaration drawn up by malcontents.

"The roots of the crisis lie in the inadequacies of the system. The monopolism of Communism and the lack of a free economy has determined our crisis," he declared.

Despite Yugoslavia's preeminence in Eastern Europe in recognising the needs for a market oriented economy the country will not be saved until there is radical change.

"There is literally nothing that does not have to be changed. Everything must be altered, but not through revolution.

"Tito's system was good for revolution but is invalid now. We must eventually have free private economy. Until then people will increasingly resort to strike and demonstrations until they get what they want.

"The crisis we are now going through will be experienced by Hungary and China in turn, now experimenting with ideas that we adopted 20 years ago."

Mr Djilas, who spent the best part of a decade in jail after his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1954, has perceptively modified his angry stance on one major issue in the last two years.

His unmitigated mistrust of the Soviet leadership and its hedgemonistic intentions as molified with the arrival of Mr Gorbachev. [sentence as published]

Three years ago Mr Djilas wrote that "The Soviet oligarchs do not recognize friends or allies but only vassals and obedient servants." Now he believes Mr Gorbachev deserved a second glance.

He does not regret that his works, acclaimed throughout the world, are not sold in Yugoslavia. "I prefer it that way."

"I was a believer in Communism when it was not a form of manipulation. But when I saw it was not realistic and a mere struggle for power among a small elite I became disenchanted.

Leninist Communism is in the process of disappearing and will be destroyed. Totalitarian Communism will disappear. But Socialist Utopianism will always be with us."

It comes as a shock to hear Mr Djilas say that despite the fundamental break from Moscow by himself and Tito, the only 20th century politician he has truly, "admired" was Stalin.

Winston Churchill and Charles de Gaulle he considers the greatest leaders in his lifetime, Aneurin Bevan he "loved" because the British Socialist and wife fought for him while he was in prison.

"But Stalin I admired because he was the true representative of the Communist ideal. I know that he was brutal but I thought that such great things were not possible without brutality.

"I met him many times. He represented devilish political genius. Certainly the greatest tyrant in history and unfortunately the most successful. Even Genghis Khan and Hitler were not capable of such tyranny towards their own people."

Tito he loved, but did not admire while Churchil and De Gaulle were in a league of their own.

SUNDIC ON PROSPECTS FOR GORBACHEV-REAGAN SUMMIT

LD301638 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Milka Sundic Commentary]

[Text] [Words indistinct] Reagan's insistence on holding a summit meeting, while the Soviet side is being hesitant in making a more concrete statement on this proposal. In fact, the Soviet leader is not disposed to travel to Washington if the U.S. President abandons the SALT II agreement, when it does not accept one of the Soviet initiatives on disarmament. Here is a commentary by Milka Sundic:

[Words indistinct] President Reagan has stated that he, like Gorbachev, wants another meeting but that there is a problem over fixing a date for their meeting. Some time ago, the leaders of the two superpowers exchanged messages on this subject but nothing is known about their contents yet.

There are only rumors that the U.S. President is insisting that the summit be around the end of the year or earlier and that allegedly, Mikhail Gorbachev does not want to commit himself to anything until some moves by the head of the White House are clearer. This concerns, above all, the SALT II agreement or rather Reagan's intention to abandon it at the end of this year.

Moscow has reacted stormily to everything which has been said in this connection in the United States and the impression has been gained that Mikhail Gorbachev is not prepared to travel to Washington without firm guarantees that his meeting with Reagan will not be in vain. Moscow's fear with regard to the success of the summit should be understood because as the Soviet delegation announced at the Geneva talks, few days ago the United States is not showing any readiness to [word indistinct] the essence of the Soviet proposals on the reduction and limitation of armaments. In other words, Reagan's assessment that the problem of the summit with Gorbachev is simply a question of the date that it is to be held is irrelevant because if there were prospects that the meeting would produce the appropriate results, the problem of date could be solved very easily. Reagan's intention to abandon the SALT II agreement was not well received in the United States and still less in Western Europe, but this still does not mean that the U.S. President will change his position which is based on the assessment that the USSR has itself violated the decrees of the agreement on the limiting of strategic nuclear armaments.

Moscow, it is true, refutes this energetically but is not avoiding a dialogue on disarmament nor even on the spot checks which is a significant novelty in the Soviet approach to the problem of disarmament. Moscow does not even oppose spot checks with regard to the reduction of troops in Europe. However, although the different Soviet proposals have been met with understanding in many Western capitals and in the United States, for the U.S. part there are still no concrete intimations that these proposals can serve as a basis for a dialogue between Reagan and Gorbachev. One gets the impression, in fact, that the United States is looking for much more than the USSR is prepared to accept and this is (?in its view) the main obstacle blocking the meeting between the leaders of the two superpowers and not the timing of the meeting as the U.S. President would have it.

Nevertheless, the fact that there are still (?pressures) between Gorbachev and Reagan leads one to the conclusion that the meeting between these two continues is still on the cards, or rather, that it cannot yet firmly be said that there will be no meeting. True, if the United States does violate SALT II, and on the other hand, if the Soviet initiatives continue to be ignored, this could, by all accounts, lead to Mikhail Gorbachev's canceling the meeting. It would be difficult for anyone in the Soviet leadership to advise Gorbachev to go to Washington if President Reagan sticks to what he has been saying recently -- in the first instance the decision to abandon SALT II. If the U.S. President does not bear this in mind, the Soviet-U.S. summit will most probably not take place.

FEC AGREES TO MEASURES ON IMPORTS, INTEREST RATES

LD271946 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jun (TANJUG) -- The Federal Executive Council (FEC) has agreed to new interest rates, increased the rediscounting rates for credits to purchase 3.3 million metric tons of wheat, and passed the decision which makes it possible to introduce special levies on imported agricultural produce and food. The aim is to prevent imports of agricultural produce above the quantities determined by balance sheets and ensure the protection of Yugoslav production at protected prices. The statement by the Federal Secretariat for Information issued today, says:

At its session yesterday (chaired by Vice President Janez Zemljarić), FEC discussed a number of current economic issues and our country's relations with our countries.

After consultations with republican and provincial executive councils, the FEC gave its consent to the decisions of the Council of Governors, which lay down the interest rates on investments from the primary issue, on resources deposited in national banks, as well as on funds used to maintain the business banks' day-by-day liquidity. On the basis of these decisions, which will come into force on 1 July 1986, the National Bank will pay interest rates on investments from the primary issue at the rate of 56 percent, while interest on areas for investments not redeemed in the period set by the contract will be 66 percent annually.

Resources deposited at the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the national banks of the republics and provinces: these banks will pay interest at new rates, i.e. 3 percent annually for resources of compulsory bank reserves; 11.5 percent for treasury bills of compulsory subscription; and 31 percent on voluntary treasury bills. The new interest rates are in line with the policy of realistic interest rates as well as with the planned annual rate of inflation.

The session also adopted the proposal to amend and supplement the decision on implementing the goals and tasks of the joint issuing and money policy and of joint foundations of the credit policy in 1986 as the basis to coordinate the attitudes with relevant republican and provincial organs.

The proposed amendments and supplements are aimed at ensuring, within the framework of the credit-monetary policy, resources for implementing the newly-adopted decisions on new prices for purchasing wheat from the 1986 harvest as well as the decision to increase the rediscounting rate for credits to purchase and set up seasonal reserves and wheat reserves from the 1986 harvest. This should ensure enough resources to buy 3.3 million metric tons of wheat this year, as planned.

The FEC also adopted the decision which makes it possible to introduce special levies on imports of agricultural food products. This decision is aimed at preventing -- in line with the established price and development policy in the agricultural sphere -- imports of agricultural products above the quantities established by balance sheets as well as at ensuring the protection of the Yugoslav agricultural production at the level of the prescribed protected prices.

The FEC decided to examine, in consultations with relevant republican and provincial organs, the possibility of prescribing obligations in the production and sale of semi-white bread to make it possible for citizens to also buy the kinds of bread which by quality and price suit them better.

Further Details

LD281002 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0010 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, June 28 (TANJUG) -- As of July 1, Yugoslavia will abolish limits on credits for agriculture and those for export arrangements contracted by the other branches of the economy. The decision taken by the Board of Governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia is expected to stimulate both production and exports, and to ensure a greater stability of the Yugoslav market.

As part of these measures, special significance is an increase from 49 to 70 percent in rediscount rates for purchase of wheat and other agricultural products from individual producers, which will ensure better solvency of banks in these transactions. The board also adopted significant changes in the policy of interest rates. The policy of real positive interest rates will in future be applied not only on the basis of actual price variations, but also expected variations.

Interest rates will in future be determined on the basis of a unified discount rate, instead of three-month time deposits. A 56-percent discount rate will be applied as of July 1, while the current three-month interest rate is 73 percent. In future, interest rates will be adjusted to price variations every three months. Individual interest rates will be determined by commercial banks. At present the interest rate for one-year time deposits is 76 percent, and for two-year deposits -- 78 percent.

Decisions taken by the Board of Governors are part of the Yugoslav Government's latest anti-inflationary measures, expected to cut back inflation by 20 percent.

KOSOVO SERBIANS SOUGHT TO 'PITCH CAMP' IN BELGRADE

AU251145 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 86 p 3

[Milos Antic report]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 22 Jun -- What had been heralded for months happened on Friday, 20 June this year, in the last breaths of another excessively hot Kosovo political spring. About 500 Serbians and Montenegrins from several villages of the Klina commune and two villages of the Pristina commune, Batuse and Bresje, started collectively on the way to Belgrade with the intention of moving out of Kosovo. They dropped their intention after the talks they conducted somewhere midway between Kosovo Polje and Pristina with numerous activists of the communal and provincial committee, as well as Azem Vllasi, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo, and Petar Gracanin and Veljko Markovic, members of the leadership of the LC of Serbia.

To enter in a newspaper report at least partially the reasons for what happened on that day between Kosovo Polje and Pristina, it is first necessary to go back not only a few months or a year, but certainly much more. The fact that for decades the political leaderships of the province would not deign to go to some village opened up a wide space which Albanian nationalists and separatists entered; as is known, they carried on their work almost legally and drew closer to their goal.

The people of the villages Batuse, Vresje, and of the Klina commune, began to express dissatisfaction, especially in the past few months, because of the numerous problems, which we have written about extensively. However, the newly elected, rejuvenated, and excellent provincial leadership, which in a short time established broad cooperation and coordination within the SR of Serbia, without any complexes, began concretely to solve all the justified demands.

And what happened then? When one began concretely to solve problems, when it was seen that the newly elected leadership had resolutely embarked on clearing up everything that affects the emigration of the Serbians and Montenegrins, when the measures and actions by the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee presidium were finally announced, and when it was realized that the Kosovo problem had become a Yugoslav problem and that everything would be done in the country to repair many things here, certain destructive and nationalist circles in Kosovo, and especially their leaders outside Kosovo, attempted to make use of the last train.

Lies Have a Short Life

They tried to move the people who have been incited, manipulated, deluded by demagogical slogans, and burdened by objective problems, collectively to migrate. They wished and dreamt and hoped that at least 20,000 Serbs and Montenegrins would follow them and that on their way through Serbia to Belgrade -- where it was planned to pitch a tented camp on the banks of the Sava -- at least five or six times as many would join them. Of course, it did not occur to them in the least to tell these people what all this means and what they are leading them in and against whom they are leading them.

Regardless of what proceeded all this, the nationalist and destructive dreams of the leaders have not in the least come true. Their demagogic slogans, provocations, and insinuations deluded a few hundred people among whom -- to tell the truth -- there were many with personal problems, who have been sharply hit by injustice, and whose life has been badly affected by certain organs.

Such people, after talking with the activities and after they saw that the manner in which they wanted to solve their problems was not the right one, gave up, peacefully dispersed to their houses. They did so because they realized that somebody had manipulated them, that somebody wanted to exploit them for something dangerous, and they realized that this somebody did not dare to appear and stand at "the head of the column."

"Operation Tents," as the organizers called this attempt at mass emigration, ended with a collapse of those who had dreamt about it so fiercely, who had invested much efforts in its preparation, and who wanted to exploit it for deep and constructive nationalist goals.

The problem, however, is too serious to be passed over lightly. Now that the storm has blown away, when one can assess and decide things much more calmly, and what is even more important, when concrete steps may be taken which could influence a calming down of the situation and a removal of all the causes that influenced people to decide for such a -- one could say -- desperate step, not a moment should be lost. The political action must be swift, incessant, clear, concrete, and visible.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE SUPPORTS ARMY SCHOOL CHANGES

LD011006 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber Committee for National Defense today supported the draft law on addenda and changes to the law on military schools and scientific research institutions in the Yugoslav People's Army. A proposal was put to the Chamber that the law be adopted at one of its coming sessions.

The new solutions should contribute to bringing military schooling into line with the current level of development of the Armed Forces and society. With the changes in the law, considerably broader scope is given to training civilians for operations and tasks in armament and military equipment production, their maintenance and use, and for work in the system of commanding and running military units and institutions. It also is envisaged that the Marshal Tito Center for Strategic Research and Studies train cadres for commanding and directing on a strategic level. The Center also is to organize the acquisition of military science doctorates.